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ABSTRACT

Addressing issues arising from increasing student diversity, this book brings together articles from "The Reading Teacher," "Journal of Reading," and "Language Arts" which offer teaching strategies, ways to capitalize on differences, and ways to use multicultural literature. Each section includes introductions by well-known literacy professionals and at the end is an annotated bibliography of over 100 multicultural children's books with a chart showing themes in each book. Part 1 (Awareness and Attitudes toward Literacy) includes 5 articles: "A Good Place To Begin: Examining Our Personal Perspectives" (Dawn Abt-Perkins and Mary Louise Gomez); "Johnny Can't Talk, Either: The Perpetuation of the Deficit Theory in Classrooms" (Rebecca G. Powell (Eller)); "Transforming Deficit Myths about Learning, Language, and Culture" (Barbara Flores, Patricia Tefft Cousin, and Esteban Diaz); "Cultural Attitudes toward Reading: Implications for Teachers of ESL/Bilingual Readers" (Mary Lee Field and Jo Ann Aebersold); and "Literacy Learning from a Multicultural Perspective" (Jim Anderson and Lee Gunderson). Part 2 (Principles of Instruction) includes 6 articles: "Acceptance and Caring Are at the Heart of Engaging Classroom Diversity" (Lindy L. Twiss); "Seven Strategies To Support a Culturally Responsive Pedagogy" (Francesina R. Jackson); "Discourse Diversity: Principles for Authentic Talk and Literacy Instruction" (John G. Barnitz); "Educating African American Learners At Risk: Finding a Better Way" (Dorothy S. Strickland); "Helping the Nonnative English Speaker with Reading" (Christine Sutton); and "Getting Meaning from Print: Four Navajo Students" (Diane M. DuBois). Part 3 (Enhancing Reading Comprehension) includes 9 articles: "Cross-Cultural Schemata and Reading Comprehension Instruction" (Billie V. Andersson and John G. Barnitz); "Using the Experience-Text-Relationship Method with Minority Children" (Kathryn Hu-Pei Au); "Negotiating Interpretations of Text: The Role of Student-Led Discussions in Understanding Literature" (Christian P. Knoeller); "Using an Advance Organizer To Set the Schema for a Multicultural Lesson" (Sandra J. LeSourd); "Developing Disadvantaged Children's Background Knowledge Interactively" (Katherine

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Maria); "Improving Multicultural Awareness and Story Comprehension with Folk Tales" (Betsy H. Santino); "Using Wordless Picture Books To Teach Linguistically and Culturally Different Students" (Joannis Kelley Flatley and Adele Ducharme Rutland); "All Angles of Idiom Instruction" (Ann Baldwin May); and "Dialect Barriers to Reading Comprehension Revisited" (Kenneth S. Goodman and Catherine Buck). Part 4 (Using Writing to Develop Reading) includes 5 articles: "Literacy Scaffolds: Strategies for First- and Second-Language Readers and Writers" (Owen F. Boyle and Suzanne F. Peregoy); "Expressing Ethnic Identity through Brown-Bag Big Books" (JoAnn M. Carter and Sigrid M. Renner); "Integrating ESL Reading and Writing Through Authentic Discourse" (Martha R. Dolly); "Black History Month Resolutions: Fifth Graders Construct Their Heritage" (Timothy Shanahan, Bonita Robinson, and Mary Schneider); and "Combining Visual Literacy, Text Understanding, and Writing for Culturally Diverse Students" (Richard Sinatra, Jeffrey S. Beaudry, Josephine Stahl-Gemake, and E. Francine Guastello). Part 5 (Selecting and Using Multicultural Literature) includes 8 articles: "Issues in Selecting Multicultural Children's Literature" (Junko Yokota); "Multicultural Learning through Children's Literature" (Timothy V. Rasinski and Nancy D. Padak); "Beyond Chopsticks and Dragons: Selecting Asian American Literature for Children" (Valerie Ooka Pang, Carolyn Colvin, MyLuong Tran, and Robertta H. Barba); "Teaching Multicultural Literature in the Reading Curriculum" (Donna E. Norton); "A Look at the Newbery Medal Books from a Multicultural Perspective" (Cindy S. Gillespie, Janet L. Powell, Nancy E. Clements, and Rebecca A. Swearingen); "Living 'The Legend of the Indian Paintbrush'" (Matthew J. Glover and Julie M. Pfeiffer); "Enhancing Reading Instruction through Cinderella Tales" (M. Jo Worthy and Janet W. Bloodgood); and "From Anansi to Zomo: Trickster Tales in the Classroom" (Terrell A. Young and Phyllis M. Ferguson). Part 6 (An Annotated Bibliography of Multicultural Children's Literature) includes 2 articles: "An Annotated Bibliography of Multicultural Children's Literature Published in 1997" (compiled by Michael F. Opitz); and "For Further Reading" (an additional bibliography for each section compiled by Michael F. Opitz). (Each article contains references.) (RS)

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A Collection of Articles and Commentaries

Michael F. Opitz

Editor

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Literacy Instruction *for Culturally and Linguistically Diverse* Students

A Collection of Articles and Commentaries

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgments vii

Commentary Authors viii

Introduction 1
Michael F. Opitz

PART ONE Awareness and Attitudes Toward Literacy 4
Commentary by Patrick Shannon

A Good Place to Begin: Examining Our Personal Perspectives 8
Dawn Abt-Perkins, Mary Louise Gomez

Johnny Can't Talk, Either: The Perpetuation of the Deficit Theory in Classrooms 21
Rebecca G. Powell (Eller)

Transforming Deficit Myths About Learning, Language, and Culture 27
Barbara Flores, Patricia Tefft Cousin, Esteban Diaz

Cultural Attitudes Toward Reading: Implications for Teachers of ESL/Bilingual Readers 39
Mary Lee Field, Jo Ann Aebersold

Literacy Learning From a Multicultural Perspective 46
Jim Anderson, Lee Gunderson

PART TWO Principles of Instruction 50
Commentary by Dorothy S. Strickland

Acceptance and Caring Are at the Heart of Engaging Classroom Diversity 53
Lindy L. Twiss

Seven Strategies to Support a Culturally Responsive Pedagogy 57
Francesina R. Jackson

Discourse Diversity: Principles for Authentic Talk and Literacy Instruction 64
John G. Barnitz

Educating African American Learners At Risk: Finding a Better Way 71
Dorothy S. Strickland

Helping the Nonnative English Speaker With Reading 81
Christine Sutton

Getting Meaning From Print: Four Navajo Students 87
Diane M. DuBois

PART THREE Enhancing Reading Comprehension 91
Commentary by John G. Barnitz

Cross-Cultural Schemata and Reading Comprehension Instruction 95
Billie V. Andersson, John G. Barnitz

Using the Experience-Text-Relationship Method With Minority Children 102
Kathryn Hu-Pei Au

Negotiating Interpretations of Text: The Role of Student-Led Discussions in Understanding Literature 105
Christian P. Knoeller

Using an Advance Organizer to Set the Schema for a Multicultural Lesson 115
Sandra J. LeSourd

Developing Disadvantaged Children's Background Knowledge Interactively 122
Katherine Maria

Improving Multicultural Awareness and Story Comprehension With Folk Tales 127
Betsy H. Santino

Using Wordless Picture Books to Teach Linguistically and Culturally Different Students 130
Joannis Kelly Flatley, Adele Ducharme Rutland

All the Angles of Idiom Instruction 136
Ann Baldwin May

Dialect Barriers to Reading Comprehension Revisited 139
Kenneth S. Goodman, Catherine Buck

PART FOUR Using Writing to Develop Reading 146
Commentary by Mary Anne Doyle

Literacy Scaffolds: Strategies for First- and Second-Language Readers and Writers 150
Owen F. Boyle, Suzanne F. Peregoy

Expressing Ethnic Identity Through Brown-Bag Big Books 158
JoAnn M. Carter, Sigrid M. Renner

Integrating ESL Reading and Writing Through Authentic Discourse 161
Martha R. Dolly

Black History Month Resolutions: Fifth Graders Construct Their Heritage 168
Timothy Shanahan, Bonita Robinson, Mary Schneider

Combining Visual Literacy, Text Understanding, and Writing for Culturally Diverse Students 173
Richard Sinatra, Jeffrey S. Beaudry, Josephine Stahl-Gemake, E. Francine Guastello

PART FIVE Selecting and Using Multicultural Literature 180
Commentary by Timothy V. Rasinski, Nancy D. Padak

Issues in Selecting Multicultural Children's Literature 184
Junko Yokota

Multicultural Learning Through Children's Literature 198
Timothy V. Rasinski, Nancy D. Padak

Beyond Chopsticks and Dragons: Selecting Asian American Literature for Children 204
Valerie Ooka Pang, Carolyn Colvin, MyLuong Tran, Robertta H. Barba

Teaching Multicultural Literature in the Reading Curriculum 213
Donna E. Norton

A Look at the Newbery Medal Books From a Multicultural Perspective 229
Cindy S. Gillespie, Janet L. Powell, Nancy E. Clements, Rebecca A. Swearingen

Living *The Legend of the Indian Paintbrush* 241
Matthew J. Glover, Julie M. Pfeiffer

Enhancing Reading Instruction Through Cinderella Tales 245
M. Jo Worthy, Janet W. Bloodgood

From Anansi to Zomo: Trickster Tales in the Classroom 258
Terrell A. Young, Phyllis M. Ferguson

PART SIX An Annotated Bibliography of Multicultural Children's Literature 275
Commentary by Lee Galda

An Annotated Bibliography of Multicultural Children's Literature Published in 1997 278
Compiled by Michael F. Opitz

For Further Reading 317

Subject Index 322

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The contributions of several individuals made this volume a reality. I would first like to thank the individuals who wrote the articles included in this volume. I would also like to thank colleagues who wrote the opening commentaries: John Barnitz, Mary Anne Doyle, Lee Galda, Nancy Padak, Timothy Rasinski, Patrick Shannon, and Dorothy Strickland. Their voices bring coherency to this volume.

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Introduction

Michael F. Opitz

No question about it. Helping *all* children to succeed in learning to read is a complex job. As classrooms become increasingly populated with culturally and linguistically diverse learners, this complexity is magnified. This book is designed to assist teachers with this challenge in two ways. First, it provides teachers with an opportunity to reflect on assumptions about teaching, learning, and children in general. Although reflection—especially as it relates to beliefs about children with cultural backgrounds different from the mainstream—can be challenging, it is well worth the effort because, as Mary Houser (1992) stated, "It is only by regularly questioning the assumptions upon which we base our teaching that we can be responsive to the changes in our student populations, the materials we use, and the demands of our society for which schools function" (p. 343).

Second, this book offers practical teaching strategies, each grounded in research, to help teachers help *all* children to succeed in reading. All the articles in this book were selected using the following criteria:

1. The article needed to offer a blend of theory and practice. Theory provides a rationale that explains the "why" behind a suggested strategy. Articulating why specific strategies are used shows professionalism—that careful consideration has been given to selected appropriate teaching strategies.

2. The article needed to be written with practitioners in mind. Teachers are busy people. They need access to ideas that are grounded in theory yet offer clear explanations that show how this theory can be put into classroom practice.

3. The article needed to show how *all* children can and need to be permitted to read and write authentic texts in order to best learn how to

read. Research has shown that reading and writing for specific purposes and audiences is essential to becoming a competent language user. *All* children learn language by performing these tasks.

4. The article needed to value and celebrate diversity, viewing diversity as differences rather that deficiencies. When culturally and linguistically diverse children—those different from the mainstream—are viewed as deficient rather than different, they are often provided inappropriate instruction that keeps them from reaching their full potential. Therefore, the article needed to show ways to capitalize on differences for the benefit of all learners.

5. The article needed to address cultural and linguistic diversity rather than focus on linguistic diversity alone. A major goal of this book is to show how cultural background affects reading. Suggestions for linguistic diversity can be located in other sources that focus primarily on English as a second language. Several of these sources are listed in the bibliographies throughout this volume.

To compile this book, I reviewed several journals in search of appropriate articles, and three in particular had articles that fulfilled the criteria: *The Reading Teacher*, *Journal of Reading*, and *Language Arts*. Other resources through 1998 are listed in the "For Further Reading" section beginning on page 317. However, no claim is made that the search was exhaustive. I searched as far back as 1970 and found some articles I believe to have lasting value. Although some may view these articles as dated, I view them as significant, historical pieces. They are significant not only because they offer some excellent suggestions but also because they help us as reading professionals to see where we have been. And, especially as it relates to the topic of this book, they help us to see that others before us have constructed ways to engage all learners—ways that can still be advantageous for helping all children learn to read. As Doug Hartman (1997) noted, "the challenge of history's pedagogical value is in knowing which lessons to draw upon and how to best make use of them" (p. 98). We can, indeed, learn from our past.

The main purpose in compiling this book is to provide teachers—novice and veteran alike—with access to articles written to heighten understanding of culturally and linguistically diverse learners, to show that different means just that—different—rather than deficient, and to offer a wealth of effective instructional strategies, each based on sound principles of instruction. To achieve this goal, the book is divided into six parts. Each part opens with a commentary written by a leader in the reading profession. Each commentary provides an overview of what follows as well as an explanation of how the articles in each part relate to one another.

Part One, Awareness and Attitudes Toward Literacy, focuses on awareness and attitudes about different cultures. The authors of the articles in this section discuss and show that parents, teachers, and students must first become aware of how they view themselves and others to determine what, if any, changes need to be made to ensure that all children learn to their full potential. Patrick Shannon's commentary invites readers to ponder who is deemed "normal" and how this normalcy is determined. He also reminds readers that an expanded view of normalcy is in everyone's best interest.

Part Two, Principles of Instruction, extends the discussion presented in Part One. The authors offer some guiding principles that can be used to help all children reach their full potential in reading. However, adopting these principles may mean rethinking assumptions about children and how to best teach them. As Dorothy Strickland states in her opening commentary to this section, "Students need opportunities to reveal who they are as learners and what they can contribute to the learning situation. This should never be predetermined."

Part Three, Enhancing Reading Comprehension, shows how readers' cultural backgrounds influence the meanings that they construct when reading. In his opening commentary, John Barnitz expounds on just how cultural, social, and geographical contexts influence comprehension. He makes the point that specific teaching strategies must be used to help learners connect their own cultural and linguistic experiences with a given text to ensure their comprehension of it. The authors of the articles offer numerous teaching suggestions that enable teachers to do just that.

Part Four, Using Writing to Develop Reading, presents articles that show how writing can facilitate growth in reading. In her opening commentary, Mary Anne Doyle discusses four theoretical understandings that are shared by the authors of articles in this part: learner considerations, theories of literacy development, reading-writing connections, and using writing to develop reading. She emphasizes that from the onset all learners need to be immersed in reading and writing in classroom communities that value and support culturally diverse learners.

Part Five, Selecting and Using Multicultural Literature, offers articles that call attention to the criteria to be applied when selecting multicultural literature. The authors of these articles present suggestions for ways to use the literature once it has been selected and discuss their main reason for using this literature: to ensure that all students feel included by seeing their cultural groups represented in books. In the opening commentary, Timothy Rasinski and Nancy Padak suggest a broader goal: to help students gain understanding and acceptance of others different from themselves. They also present their ideas for motivating students to read and respond in order to gain this understanding and acceptance.

Part Six, An Annotated Bibliography of Multicultural Children's Literature, concludes the book with a list of over 100 multicultural books published in 1997. Lee Galda's opening commentary provides an explanation of multicultural literature and the ways that books can be considered culturally diverse. The bibliography provides teachers with recently published titles that can be used to form collections for their classroom libraries and also can be combined and used with several of the teaching strategies suggested in this book. Volumes have been written on multicultural children's literature, and several of these are listed in the "For Further Reading" bibliography.

Galda's suggestion that collections of books need to have books from many different cultural groups had a significant affect on the way I decided to present the books: in alphabetical order with the cultural representation shown in parentheses. Common themes were used to construct the Table, which follows the annotations and is designed to help teachers construct text sets, books that relate to the same topic. Fifteen themes are listed across the top of the Table. The titles are listed in alphabetical order along the left. A √ indicates that the given book relates to the given topic.

I believe that listing the books this way helps to emphasize cultural similarities as well as differences. It also enables teachers to address the contributions of different cultural groups throughout the year rather than focusing on any one group as a one-time event. When focusing on accomplishments, for example, the Table provides appropriate books. When looking at the actual annotation, teachers will discover that several different cultural groups are represented.

When considering the parts as a whole, my hope is that this book better equips teachers in their quest to help all children—different as they may be—maximize their reading potential.

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PART ONE

Awareness and Attitudes Toward Literacy

Patrick Shannon

The authors of the articles in Part One ask educators to reconsider the subject of normality in its various forms within reading education. Through the stories they tell, the theories they explain, and the research they report, they demonstrate that what educators and the public typically believe to be natural facts of life about language, culture, and people are really social and historical constructions. In terms of language, behavior, and beliefs, some individuals and some groups had and continue to have the power to represent their constructions as normal or mainstream, and they judge the rest of us and life accordingly. This power is encoded in the school curricula, textbooks, examinations, and expectations. Those of us who sound, act, believe, and look similar to this powerful group are considered normal, and those who do not exhibit these traits, are not. The authors suggest that these constructions-taken-as-facts do not serve equally all of the students who come to school daily, and employing both a language of critique and one of hope, they argue that it could be otherwise in schools, and perhaps by extension, in society. They tell us that schools could become cultural places where the subjects of normality and the power to represent are examined as regular features of the curriculum. This is an exciting prospect.

The word *normal* is derived from the Latin root *norma*—the carpenter's rule. In its adjectival form, it means conforming to that rule. In common usage, *normal* is often treated as a synonym for regular or typical. In both cases, the role of social expectations is clear in the establishment of what is considered normal. The rules are established by a particular group—metaphorical carpenters—who build social parameters. This view—that rules are relative to a group reference—is most clear in the sociological use of the term. Social norms are set and enforced within groups that share some common definition, and according to Emile Durkheim (1984), they serve as models of what should happen. Social normalcy is, then, prescriptive as well as descriptive.

However, *normal* appears to lose its social attachments within the fields of linguistics and psychology. Normative linguistics still promotes exact, absolute language standards based on logical superiority of the assumed natural standards of American English. Moreover, the normal probability distribution from psychological statistics is now encoded in law (see the Reading Excellence Act of 1997) as the only objective measure of how to determine truth in education. Now deviations from the mean take on entirely different meanings than perhaps originally intended when split plots were used in agricultural experiments. But perhaps this is what early educational psychologists had in mind when they invented standardized norm-referenced testing at the turn of the 20th century (see Murphy, Shannon, Johnston, & Hansen, 1998, for a discussion of origins, constructions, and consequences of reading tests). Psychologists and normative linguists vigorously deny the social origins of their norms, and therefore, mask the problems of inequality in schools behind the rhetoric of science.

In Part One, Rebecca Powell (formerly Eller) discusses how the social norms of language among her Appalachian students work well within their community, but not well at all within the normative linguistic expectations and practices of her school. Barbara Flores, Patricia Tefft Cousin, and Esteban Díaz describe how the mental capacities of Latino students in a southern California community fit effortlessly within the social norms of their communities but not at all easily within the psychological norms of the schools they attended. These two articles explain that when the "carpenters" of valued norms were Appalachian or Latino community members, children conformed to the rule and were considered regular, typical, and normal. Yet, when a different set of carpenters set the rules that traditional school personnel enforce, these children did not measure up, were considered abnormal (away from the rule), and were labeled "verbally deficient" or "at risk." The authors suggest that not only were there different carpenters at work, but different carpenters' rules were being applied to establish the norm in each of these cases.

Of course, one of the traditional rationales for schooling is to encourage students to broaden their local perspectives—to expand their horizons beyond their communities—in order that schools prepare them for life. Indeed, all of us can learn to cross cultural barriers to consider, and perhaps adapt to, different cultural norms. Yet Powell and Flores et al. suggest that the labels applied and the corresponding practices of traditional schools punish more than support these groups. Cultural differences are treated as natural deficits, and those designated "abnormal" are offered different school experiences that prepare them for fewer opportunities in later life. The authors maintain that school norms are biased social constructions based on social class, race, and language in order to preserve the privileges enjoyed by "normal" (that is, economically advantaged, white, and standard English speaking) youth. Both authors question the lack of compassion in the systems established within the institution of schooling to label entire cultural groups as abnormal without much reflection on the consequences for our society within a diverse world. Schools, they imply, seek regression to the norm, while the world seems intent on becoming more diverse.

Dawn Abt-Perkins and Mary Louise Gomez ask educators to take the time to locate themselves in and reflect on the beliefs, practices, and policies of traditional schooling. They ask us to consider the consequences of our work from our students' (and their families') points of view.

They do so by telling personal stories about their efforts to engage in teaching multiculturally. Their tales invite us to examine our stories and lives in order to expand our understanding of what is normal. In effect, they suggest that we challenge the traditions of schooling.

This is hard work. Not only is it difficult to overcome the biases of a lifetime in order to see the possibilities of difference, but as Jim Anderson and Lee Gunderson suggest, our efforts to accommodate difference are not always appreciated by our students' parents. In their research, they found that many parents of Asian ancestry currently living in Canada opposed the practices of emergent literacy theory. Rather than working through children's strengths and approximations of the alphabetic code, these parents sought enforcement of traditional school expectations of normative linguistics in order to enable their children to score high on tests and to further their chances for educational and employment benefits. Anderson and Gunderson mediate our understanding of our desire to "do good" that Abt-Perkins and Gomez define for us.

And it's not just some parents who hold traditional normality in such high regard. Schools are the way they are because they serve powerful groups well. Efforts to change them will run afoul of that power. Both Powell and Flores et al. only hint about the political and economic muscle behind the status quo in schools. Consider, for example, the Reading Excellence Act of 1997. Combining the power of business (textbook publishers), educational psychologists, and conservative federal legislators, the Reading Excellence Act dangles federal funds in front of state education departments in order to reassert traditional normality to the center of literacy education in the United States. Instead of the culturally based notions of language, literacy, and literature suggested in the articles of this section, the official instructional practice for reading will return to systematic phonics based on "reliable replicable research." Reinvoking the myth of the natural basis of traditional normality through objective science, advocates of the Reading Excellence Act argue the only way to help the groups about which the authors in this section worry is by ignoring their culture and by acting as if their families and communities have fostered their deficiencies in language, experience, and values. Curricular standards and national examinations are set to accomplish the same goals of enforcing the consequences of biased normality as if it were natural, in fact the only, possible action. Once again with the Reading Excellence Act, basals will be king, educational psychological scientists will dictate theory for teachers to follow, and standards of normality will be enforced through high-stakes standardized tests.

The International Reading Association (IRA) and the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) have published position statements strongly objecting to the thrust and particulars of the Reading Excellence Act (but not to national curricular standards or national testing). Perhaps, we can find some comfort in the knowledge that our professional organizations are unwilling to sit by silently while extreme measures of traditional normality position the majority of American public school students outside the bounds of standard expectations. But because these statements were the consequences of executive committee resolutions, we cannot be sure that the statements capture the sentiments of the majority of the memberships of these organizations. And what of the many teachers who are not members of IRA or NCTE? What are their views on normality? Where do they locate themselves in terms of deficit theories and multiculturalism? As the school population becomes increasingly diverse with each passing school year, will reading educators attempt to ignore the complexities of classroom life by enforcing this law?

Michael Opitz and the authors of the chapters in this and other parts of the book ask us to make our classrooms (in public and universities alike) into spaces where the issues of normality can be discussed. They challenge us to continue our conversations about difference, power, and literacy in our efforts to serve all the children who walk into our classrooms and their families that they leave to work with us. Their invitations to stop, think, and locate ourselves should be welcoming to all.

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A Good Place to Begin: Examining Our Personal Perspectives

Dawn Abt-Perkins
Mary Louise Gomez

In the call for papers for an issue of *Language Arts*, the editor asked: What programs, practices, materials, issues, or perspectives make sense when we think about teaching multiculturally? We believe that prior to addressing these questions, others that enable teachers to obtain fresh viewpoints on their practice must be posed. We suggest that teaching multiculturally must begin with self-inquiry and that as teachers, we must first examine the relations among our fundamental values, attitudes, dispositions, and belief systems (our personal perspectives), our teaching, and our diverse students' literacy learning. We must ask ourselves: Who am I? What are my beliefs about teaching, learning, and students? Are my beliefs consonant with my practice? What are the consequences of my teaching for the literacy learning and achievement of all children in my class?

In reflecting on these, we gain a clearer picture of how our race, social class, ethnicity, and other characteristics, such as our language background and gender, shape our teaching and the opportunities for our diverse students' learning and achievement. In a summer course, "Teaching Writing to Diverse Learners," we challenged ourselves to provide opportunities for reflection on how our personal perspectives shape our teaching to the 26 language arts teachers who enrolled. Our purposes were to read, talk, and write about how our lives and experiences create environments that enhance or limit the literacy learning of children in our classrooms and to rethink our teaching of writing. In the pages that follow, we describe the course and the beliefs about literacy and learning that grounded it, and we explore its impact on two of the teachers in the year that followed.

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Examining Ourselves

As we began thinking about the course, we remembered Lisa Delpit's (1988) challenge to teachers:

> We do not really see through our eyes or hear through our ears, but through our beliefs. To put our beliefs on hold is to cease to exist ourselves for a moment—and that is not easy. It is painful as well because it means turning yourself inside out, giving up your own sense of who you are, and being willing to see yourself in the unflattering light of another's angry gaze. It is not easy, but it is the only way to start the dialogue....We must learn to be vulnerable enough to allow our world to turn upside down in order to allow the realities of others to edge themselves into our consciousness. (p. 297)

So we began by telling stories of our past teaching to each other—stories about teaching of which we are no longer proud. We wanted to understand why we attempted to teach in these ways in the past and why those practices had been supported by others.

Dawn's Story

> J.D. was the first African American student I had ever taught. In fact, he was one of only a few students of color in my school. I remember how he used to walk into my ninth-grade writing class and take the seat farthest away from the front of the room. He would always make sure that there was at least one empty desk between him and the students who sat in front of and beside him.
>
> I remember being aware of J.D.'s color. I wanted him to contribute to my white students' understanding of race relations in American society. I felt that they needed to be awakened to issues of prejudice and discrimination. They had become too comfortable in their white, suburban community, I thought, and J.D. could help them see beyond their limited horizon. With this in mind, I planned a mock interview as part of a writing unit. In the past, I had randomly picked a student to be my interviewee. My implicit message was that all people have something interesting to tell about themselves if only we ask the right questions. That afternoon, I decided to choose J.D. I thought that I could accomplish two goals by interviewing him: I could show J.D. that I wanted him to be a participant in the class, *and* I could raise issues about race and prejudice in our society.
>
> J.D. agreed to be interviewed. I suppose he thought that I would ask him the kinds of questions that I had asked other students about their lives and experiences. Instead, I hit J.D. with a barrage of questions about what it felt like to be African American and be discriminated against. He sunk in his chair. With all of our eyes upon him, he could not run and hide. So, he responded in short bursts and avoided meeting any of our eyes. After 10 minutes of such questioning, I allowed J.D. to return to his seat in the corner. I ruefully thanked him for being my "guinea pig" that day.

This story was painful for me to tell. But, it was also too important to keep secret. In telling the story, I saw that instead of inviting J.D. to share his stories in a conversation where we, as a classroom community, could talk openly about race issues, I had objectified J.D. by asking him to represent all African American people. I had not created the classroom context wherein J.D. could represent himself. I had acted from a position of power within that classroom, school, and community. In trying to include J.D., I did nothing but highlight how he was not a member of these same groups. J.D. and I did not share stories of experience; I had decided what J.D.'s story was and how he should share it. J.D. was silenced by my lack of understanding of what it meant to be an "other" in our classroom.

Mary Louise's Story

When I was in my first year as a faculty member here at the university, I conducted quite a few inservice sessions on teaching writing for local elementary school staffs. The principal of one building—where half the children were African American kids living in poverty—called and asked me to follow up an inservice session by teaching a series of related lessons to third graders as their teachers watched.

I had a lot of experience teaching writing to socioeconomically diverse groups of children, and I had read a lot about teaching racially and ethnically diverse children, so I thought I was prepared to do a good job. I carefully planned the lessons I would teach. On my first day in each classroom, I introduced and read the majority of a selection of multicultural literature. Then, I led a discussion about the themes in the book, the roles various characters had played, and the language the author had used to share her story. I asked the children to draft new endings to the story and to share these for peer reactions.

In subsequent lessons, we talked about the use of lively language, and the third graders inserted adjectives and adverbs into their texts. On other occasions, we worked on the use of quotation marks and the use of conversation to enliven a story. Finally, each child used a word processor to write a second, and then a third edited draft of her story. The stories were printed, a table of contents and dedication added, and a copy of the book was bound for each child. The day I arrived with the publication for each class became a celebration. Children autographed each other's books and gleefully located their names and story titles in the table of contents. As each book was finished, another teacher would confirm the dates for my guest teaching in her class; and over the fall and winter, I worked in three classrooms.

Despite the children's, parents', teachers', and the principal's pleasure in the writing projects, I have never felt comfortable with this teaching. I have always known that there was something missing in my work at this school. It was not until I began telling Dawn my story that I saw what I had done. While the books represented the experiences and heritages of different racial and ethnic groups, I had denied each student the opportunity to share *her* own story. I was so focused on providing an activity in common from which all could write that I failed to see that the writing activity itself lacked any intrinsic links to the needs, experiences, or interests of the children in the classes. I saw, fresh and clear, how I had tried to teach multiculturally—but at arm's length, so to speak—as I put the books between the children and myself. The stories I had encouraged them to tell were not their own; they were ones I had chosen. The responses I asked them to make were also of my choosing. The children wanted to please me, the visiting university teacher, and they liked sharing their work with each other and seeing it in print. Sadly, we all failed to see what I had done. Like Dawn, I had overlooked the importance of who I was, who the children were, and what they brought to school in my teaching.

Planning the Course

We had both attempted to be cognizant of whom we were teaching as we planned our writing instruction—Dawn, through her attempts to "see" J.D.'s color, and Mary Louise, through her use of multicultural literature with diverse student groups. But neither of us had taken any real risks by inviting our students to tell their own stories on their own terms. It was only in telling these stories to one another that we accomplished what Delpit has suggested—turned ourselves inside out to allow the realities of others to edge themselves into our consciousness.

In deciding what stories to tell one another and how to share them, we were forced to consider how to present ourselves and how to present the roles others played in our stories. As we planned to tell the stories, and as we told them, we moved from locating ourselves within the role of participant in the experience to one of participant in the story. In the telling, we recognized other possible dimensions to our practice and to our students' reactions to it than had been readily apparent to us alone. For example, Dawn had originally attributed J.D.'s one-word responses to her questions as innate shyness. As she told the story, however, she understood that while he may have been shy and her impulse to invite his participation was genuine, she had to take responsibility for his reaction. In the telling, with our common commitments to improving our practice and our trust in one another as part of the storytelling context, we were able to see ourselves in a new light.

As we told our stories, the principles upon which we wanted to base the course became clear. We wanted the teachers in our course to reflect on their practice in ways that lead to what Dyson (1992) and Nystrand (1992) have called dialogic instruction. Nystrand marks dialogic instruction as "eliciting, sustaining, and extending student-initiated contributions" (p. 6). Dyson emphasizes that teachers cannot enter into such dialogues with students without carefully considering the personal and social contexts of students' texts. Rather than dismissing or overlooking the "unexpected" texts our students create in our writing classrooms, Dyson reminds us that it is the teacher's role to invite such texts, to struggle to understand the purposes they serve in students' lives, and to help students craft these so that others inside and outside of the mainstream can understand and value them as well.

In our course, we did not want to talk about dialogic or multicultural writing instruction as if these were things that could be done outside of our own self-critique. We knew that the changes we desired would need to begin on personal ground. Like us, the teachers in our course would need to acknowledge how their instructional decisions were guided by their understandings of who they were, who their students were, and how best to extend students' literacy learning. More than new techniques or new materials, the teachers would need to explore, as we had done, the personal dimensions of their teaching. They, like us, would require a context and an empathetic audience for telling their stories.

Our goal was to provide a haven, of sorts, for teachers to conduct such self-exploration. We share Delpit's ideal (1988) that teachers need to learn about communities other than their own and to examine their beliefs toward people unlike them, and we recognize the difficulty of this work. To do as Delpit suggests opens our teaching for review and the possibility that it will be found adequate. Schools are places that do not sanction vulnerability, ambiguity, or the airing of uncertainty; rather, teachers are expected to publicly, confidently, and competently carry out their duties. Teachers have learned to hide their feelings of self-doubt and to defend themselves against critique, even from their peers. Rarely do teachers come together for the purpose of puzzling through what they do not fully understand or questioning accepted practices. We hoped that our classroom would provide a place apart from teachers' usual work environments to safely air the tensions in their teaching; to unpack the social, economic, and institutional constraints of their work; and to reduce their feelings of anxiety, anger, and fear about their multiple audiences—students, peers, administrators, and parents. So, we planned a series of activities focused on reading, writing, and telling stories of teaching.

The Course: "Teaching Writing to Diverse Learners"

We began by asking everyone to read James Baldwin's "A Talk to Teachers" (1988) in which he argues that teachers contribute to the racial problems in our society if they only work to make their students think, talk, and act just like them. Instead of being "color-blind," Baldwin calls on teachers to be "color conscious." To understand the possible connections between their students' heritages and their literacy, teachers first have to recognize such connections in their own lives; and we hoped that after reading Baldwin, they could do so. We requested that teachers write about and discuss in small groups the ways that their race, ethnicity, social class, and other factors—such as their language background and gender—had affected their beliefs about what to value as literacy learning in their classrooms. The teachers told stories about how their literacy experiences, both at home and at school, had made them feel capable, as if they had something to contribute. In the words of one of the teachers (all teachers' names, unless noted otherwise, are pseudonyms):

> School was always a place of comfort for me, and an affirmation that I was worthwhile, intelligent, and part of a whole. I can see that I had the advantage of being part of the acculturated majority power group. Inequalities are built into education for minority students because literature and language are tied to the majority culture. (Norma Barnes, June 26, 1990)

Another student responded:

> I have lived my entire life in a small town. The one person of color in the community lived with her white grandmother. And socioeconomically, I went to a small, private college where all of the students in my courses were white. Although I have always tried to live by the statement, "My way is not always the best way," in my teaching, I am beginning to see some new depth to this position. Since we all differ in our cultural, social, and ethnic experience, we will all hold different norms, beliefs, and values about our school literacy experiences. I see this as a spectrum—some views being very close to mine and others very far, but none more right than the next.
>
> (Carolyn Smith, June 26, 1990)

And another wrote:

> I have always considered myself relatively liberal politically. I argue with people I grew up with and work with, frequently scolding them for their racist, sexist, and materialistic remarks. But after reading Baldwin, I find that maybe my liberal persona is nothing more than an affectation. (Mark Baker, June 26, 1990)

This session initiated a process of inquiry on how our experiences had informed our perspectives on literacy learning. Baldwin challenged us to raise critical questions about how our own perspectives shaped the kinds of texts and talk we had come to value in our classrooms. And, perhaps more importantly, he helped us understand the kinds of silences we had come to accept from our students.

But, our goal, finally, was not to construct an "encounter group" to relieve white, middle-class guilt. We needed to deal constructively with the problem at hand—to examine how our perspectives permeate all of our interactions with children and to find ways to enter into more dialogic relationships with them. To this end, we read stories of the school literacy experiences of "other" people, these stories that are typically left out of conversations about literacy learning in teacher methods courses. And we started to tell stories of our own teaching to begin the painful process of "re-visioning" our teaching from new ground.

We read stories from people who had to learn to be school literate the hard way—through breaking connections with their homes, families, and communities. *Hunger of Memory* (1982), for example, is Richard Rodriguez's story about the painful road to his school success; it is an account of the alienation he experienced as his family is encouraged to "practice" English at home by his elementary school teachers. Rodriguez's story, and those of Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines (1988) and Rose (1989), demonstrate disturbing accounts of schooling; they show teaching that was standardized in materials, methods, and expectations—regardless of the valuable and varied skills and knowledge that low-income children and children of color brought to school. These stories highlight how for many learners on the boundaries of mainstream U.S. life, literacy skills were developed at the expense of the students' racial and ethnic identities.

Another set of stories we read—those of Delpit (1988), Dyson (1989), Kitagawa (1989), and Jordan (1988)—show the possibilities for dialogic teaching. In these, teachers negotiated their expectations with diverse learners' interests, needs, and feelings in mind. Using the Author's Chair, collaborative writing groups, writing conferences, and writing to audiences outside of the classroom were intended to nurture writers' purposes while honoring the communities from which they came. These teachers of writing took responsibility for recognizing their students' intentions because they appreciated that, in Kitagawa's words, "It is the writer who teaches and the reader who is taught" (p. 76). In this other set of stories, the teachers made explicit the link between authorship and authority (Kitagawa, 1989). They worked to put their students' writing in contexts in which they made sense—including social and political contexts.

For some time now, teachers and researchers have been talking and writing about the importance of "getting on kids' ground," but these readings moved beyond this position. In these stories, teachers struggled to recognize their own humility in the face of the diversity of students' experiences and their communicative intentions. They recognized that although we can never understand the totality of all of our students' racial, social, and ethnic "texts," we can work toward a position in our teaching where we allow our intentions to be put on hold for the moment as we let ourselves be taught.

All of the readings served as jumping-off points for writing and talking. In addition to the assignment to explore one's literacy learning that followed the Baldwin article, teachers wrote two responses to other course readings and a final course project—a plan of action for some aspect of their literacy teaching for the next year. Each assignment was discussed in small and large groups, drafted, shared with a peer group of the teachers' choice, rewritten, and responded to by us both. As we described our hopes for the action plans, we each retold the story of teaching that we had earlier told only to one another. We used these as examples of tensions in teaching that we had identified as requiring our rethinking and revision. We suggested that they, too, might have such questions about their practice and that we could work together to respond to these.

After a lot of discussion and writing, each class participant identified a dilemma. For example, Carolyn Smith, a kindergarten teacher, asked how she might better communicate with incoming students' parents whose older children had not done well in school. She suspected that the school problems children from these families had experienced in the past were not endemic to family deficiencies but were the result of school literacy expectations—beginning in kindergarten—failing to match or build on those that the children brought to school. For her action plan, Carolyn devised two related goals. First, she would no longer rely on the kindergarten "screening tests" for information about children's learning and achievement. Instead, she would negotiate time with her peers, school reading specialist, and school administration for get-acquainted parent conferences. At these, she would introduce herself and the program. Most important, these would provide an occasion where she could begin to find out the interests children were bringing to school, as well as the hopes, needs, and expectations their parents brought with them. Second, she would try to focus not on remediating what children failed to bring to school but on inviting their interests into her classroom and building on these. Like her peers Linnea and Alexandra, whose stories we tell in greater detail in the next sections, Carolyn began to refocus her teaching during the course. She, like them, found the support of her classmates and the challenges of the readings, writing, and storytelling, a "good place to begin" (Personal communication, July 11, 1990).

Linnea's Story

Linnea Johnson was a fifth-grade teacher from a nearby suburban community. Like Dawn, she had one African American child in her classroom the prior year. During the course, Linnea confronted how her experiences growing up as a white, middle-class person had limited her ability to teach her student Plumer in ways she considered to be successful. Further, she recognized how the community in which she taught reinforced this perspective by propagating a "colorblind" approach to instruction. As a result, she had been afraid to admit that tensions existed between Plumer and herself and that these tensions had limited his opportunities to find a voice—to participate—in her classroom. In the following story, Linnea tells about how her teaching had celebrated Plumer's silence:

> As I looked down my class roster, prior to the first day of school, some fellow teachers were trying to help me get started by describing the students to me. Each name would be mentally represented in my mind with each story they told. Near the bottom of the list, my eye fell upon a name that sounded, well, different. The teachers explained that this was a black boy and described him as being very quiet. I filed this information away and continued down the list. What I did not realize was that there was so much to the boy's story.
>
> Soon the first day of school arrived with the usual flurry of excitement coupled with a little anxiety. Most students were chattering before the bell, trying to figure out what this new teacher would be like…mean or nice, funny or boring, and so forth. Plumer entered the room quietly, took his seat, and remained silent. He was the only black student in the fifth grade, a group comprised of approximately 80 students.
>
> During our first days together, I tried to establish a supportive classroom atmosphere which was conducive to learning. I hoped to create a place in which students felt safe and would feel free to express themselves and take risks. This did not happen for Plumer until very late in the school year. While most children were taking part in the activities with vigor, Plumer tended to hang back, on the fringes. He would respond to me in one-word utterances and rarely established eye contact.
>
> I consulted my peers, and they replied that this was the way Plumer was. Very quiet. The year progressed, and Plumer remained silently unnoticed. My teaching responsibilities and challenges were enough to keep my mind occupied, and I thought that Plumer was doing fine.
>
> In the following months, I came to recognize the silence as a mask for anger. Speaking for him, he was in a situation in which he felt a lack of power, the only black student in a white world, with a teacher who did not know that he would have needs different from the rest of he students.
>
> My childhood world consisted of a homogeneous white town. Unfortunately, I grew up where diverse people were talked of negatively. They were people to avoid. It is with sadness that I admit I was afraid to deal with Plumer. What I saw was his shell, not the individual inside. I admit that I really did not know that he would have needs different from the rest of my students. I grew up ignorant of the sea of individuals with so much to say and share. I feel my lack of experience with people of color greatly affected the way I reacted to Plumer.
>
> The mistakes I had made with Plumer were made clear very late in the year. We were researching in the library, and Plumer had not yet found a magazine source for his paper. I offered to help him, and he became very defiant. We left

> the library to discuss the issue. What soon became evident was his anger and pain. It was the first time I had heard him, as Delpit described in her article. I had been listening to his silence, not wanting to hear what was happening. I felt frightened of his diversity but had no choice but to hear him. I braced myself.
>
> Plumer accused me of treating him differently. Immediately, my internal defenses were activated. I thought, I have not! I have tried very hard to not make any remarks that may offend you. I have gone out of my way to make this year a smooth one for you. Suddenly, my conscience told me to listen to the angry boy in front of me. I put my fears and biases aside and let him speak, encouraging him every now and then to ask if there was anything else he wanted (needed) to say. It hurt very much to listen to him, but it was very important for both of us. We had the most incredible discussion. We talked about things that made him feel angry, and I explained my actions as well. It would be a lie to say that it was an idealistic situation afterwards, but he and I made a connection that day. We communicated. We heard as well as listened to each other. This experience called on me to reexamine my own values, my own actions, and my own prejudicial beliefs. As an educator, I needed to recognize Plumer's silence for what it was and what I had contributed to it.
>
> Plumer taught me things I had never before faced. As I sit in our seminar, thinking and conversing, I am reminded of Plumer. It is frightening to question the way in which one was brought up and the ways in which one chooses to live life. To wonder if you, through your own well-meaning intentions, might not be adding to the problem by failing to confront it. I believe that the incidents in my fifth grade parallel with that of the larger society, and that something must be done in an attempt to ease the pain and tension of the situation. (Paper, June 25, 1990)

In her words, the course readings and discussions had helped her to see "who I am and who my students are" in new ways (Paper, June 25, 1990). In revisioning her teaching, she set three goals. First, she wanted to be a model for her peers. In her school community, she knew that she was not alone in feeling afraid to raise issues of race in her teaching. Linnea felt that by demonstrating and sharing alternative ways to interact with students like Plumer, she might help her colleagues see the silence of students of color as more than simply shyness. Second, she understood that she needed to educate herself about the contributions of diverse peoples to our nation's history. And, finally, she challenged herself to find ways to help her students, in their primarily monoethnic community, to reflect on social issues from multiple viewpoints. She didn't want her students to feel limited by their school literacy experiences as she felt bound by hers.

In an interview conducted one year after writing her plan, Linnea told new stories of classroom experience. Again, she had one African American boy, Joseph, in her class. In the following story, Linnea tells of how she worked to establish a relationship that would not allow the differences between them to silence Joseph:

> As you know from my paper last summer, I had a pretty bad experience with the one black boy I had a year ago. This year I had only one black boy again. But the experience this year was 100% different. Joseph and I talked a lot. He was uncomfortable at times with issues that were coming up in the classroom. We talked about that in private. He really appreciated the fact that I was aware that he felt different, but I didn't want him to be treated differently by others. I think a lot of what caused him to be concerned was the stigmatizing on the playground through name-calling, and so forth. So we discussed these things.
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> His mother and I communicated from the very beginning. I initiated the contact because I could tell from the first day that Joseph was angry. His mother warned me that he might use, "You're doing this because I'm black." But he never did. He did have a chip on his shoulder, though. The first few weeks were kind of rough. He was real-

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> ly testing me. But once he saw that I would follow through on things (I would call his parents), we settled into a respectful relationship. I recognized the difference between us, but I wasn't going to allow that to be an excuse in terms of my discipline or my effort or his confronting his learning problems. So we worked on these things.
>
> I knew I had made progress when one day we were talking about prejudice as a spelling word. We talked about what it means to prejudge someone before you really have the information. And we talked about times when we have been the victims of prejudice. It took about 5 minutes, and someone said, "Well, I know sometimes people judge others on the color of their skin." This hush fell over the room. Joseph got kind of antsy. And I was wondering if he would want to talk about this or not. I couldn't tell, but usually he would talk all the time.
>
> Well, we continued by writing the words on the board and talking about what was said about prejudice and how that makes us feel. The other kids were giving specific life examples like, "I can't do this because people say I'm just a little kid" or "They tell me girls can't do those things." But they didn't say anything else about race until Joseph raised his hand and said, "This is how I feel when this happens to me." At this point, the spelling words were gone. And we just talked about his experiences and feelings.
>
> It was good for Joseph because he saw that the kids saw him for his color and for the type of person he was. It was one of those moments. Some of them asked questions of him like, "Well, what did you do?" and "How did you feel about this or that?" They wanted more information from him. And they did a lot of nodding of their heads. I think this made him feel supported. (Interview, June 12, 1991)

Linnea worked to establish an open relationship with Joseph and his mother. She also tried to create a classroom community supportive of the kind of risk taking that she thought was essential to literacy development. And, she had followed Joseph's lead; she was ready to support him in talking about his experiences when he wished to do so.

Besides her story about Joseph, Linnea shared ways in which she had redesigned her writing curriculum so that it would be more inviting for all of her students. For example, she told us she had redesigned the library research project that she had taught the year before to Plumer and his classmates. Instead of working alone, she asked students to work in pairs on the research projects. She also decided to focus the project on contributions that African American people have made to our country's development.

She began the unit by having small groups of students read about a different segment of American history from an African American perspective. Each group also presented what they had learned to the entire class. She then had them research specific African American individuals together in the library and present what they had found to their fellow classmates. They were free to design their presentations in any way they believed would best describe the contribution of their subject. For example, Joseph and his partner wrote a rap to describe the contributions of an African American poet. When all had shared their work, Linnea and her students displayed their writing with illustrations of the African American people whose contributions they celebrated.

During our interview, Linnea was reminded of the changes she had undergone in her own perspective:

> I remember my roommate came in after school one day to give me a message. She just looked around my room and said in amazement, "All of these pictures are of black people!" It struck her because she is from the same kind of background as I am. (June 12, 1991)

In describing why she felt the new research unit had been a success, Linnea said that the activities had been more inclusively designed.

Students were working collaboratively, presenting to each other, and experimenting with different genres to fit their purposes. Most important to Linnea was that the unit had helped serve as an "ice-breaker" for everyone. "The students knew that race would be talked about in this classroom. They knew to treat Joseph as someone who comes from a cultural background of which we should all be proud. And they heard this message coming from the teacher."

Alexandra's Story

Another teacher in the course, Alexandra Phelps (her actual name), was also concerned about the messages that her writing curriculum sent to the diverse learners in her classroom. Alexandra taught eighth grade in a school community comprised of students from many different backgrounds. Like Mary Louise, Alexandra also wondered why she felt so dissatisfied about her approach to writing instruction when it seemed to be so well accepted by others.

Alexandra is a member of the Yokuts tribe. Early in the course, she identified with Richard Rodriguez's struggle to reconcile his identity as a "minority" with his position as a scholar. Alexandra had been hired 3 years earlier via an affirmative action program. Frequently, she found herself wondering if she would have been hired had she not been a Yokuts. In one of her papers, Alexandra wrote:

> Ever since that day, I have struggled to sort out whether it was my label or my qualifications that resulted in this job offer....To be put in the position of defending a minority label that I am very proud of, yet embarrassed by, is a frustrating situation....When I reflect on Baldwin's [1988] and Ferdman's [1990] theses, I find some means to defend my decision to accept the school district's offer [of a job]. Because of the family stories and history with which I have been raised, I have felt a separateness from and rage about the dominant culture of this country. The treatment and experiences of family members who do "look Indian" [unlike Alexandra] have made me sensitive to racism and power issues in a personal way. (Paper, June 27, 1990)

During the course, as she read the words of other people of color, she came to recognize how her experiences could give her a unique perspective to "reflect on what happens in our schools and to advocate for changes to make them more relevant to a broader group of people" (Paper, June 27, 1990).

Through reading and discussing Baldwin, Ferdman, and Rodriguez, Alexandra began making "an uneasy peace" with herself as a person of color and as a teacher (Paper, June 27, 1990). For her final course project, Alexandra tried to imagine a new writing curriculum that would put into practice her desires to advocate for change on behalf of others. In her teacher preparation courses, Alexandra had been taught to standardize her approach to curriculum. She had been encouraged to create worksheets, story-starters, and other language games to engage her students in acquiring writing skills. Despite the fact that her students seemed to enjoy these activities, Alexandra was dissatisfied with her writing curriculum. In an interview 1 year after the course, she reflected on the questions she had begun to ask herself during the summer:

> I had started to articulate for myself why I was teaching in this way. I asked myself: What does this have to do with sharing real life experiences with kids and having real purposes for writing? It is too easy to forget the big picture, the purpose of schools, why we do what we do, is it fair what we do, who's the winner and who's the loser—that sort of thing—when you are teaching. (May 27, 1991)

Although her classroom was a pleasant and engaging place for student writers, her curriculum had failed to connect students' lives to their classroom writing experiences. In her words, Alexandra wanted to teach writing in ways that felt "more natural to me personally." So, in her plan for the following year, she redesigned her classroom as a reading/writing workshop. The results, as Alexandra explained a year later, were powerful.

> I have a black female student who turned in a piece of writing a few weeks ago that I've passed around to just about everybody in this building. She called it, "The Harder You Push Me Down, the Higher I'll Bounce." She is an ED (emotionally disturbed) student who was writing about how she got suspended one day for a confrontation she had had with a substitute teacher in her ED room. In her version of the story, the two adults in the room had exaggerated what had happened. She goes through all of these emotions as she tells this story. The story evolves into how she had problem-solved this thing. And she ends the story with, "At school, you have something I want—an education—so I need to live down my past, but I'm trying and I wish someone would notice that I'm trying." It was like 15 pages. Amazing.
>
> I had a Hmong girl in my class who is 14 and a mother. In her culture, in her home, she is an adult. So when she goes home, she cooks and cleans, and she is feeling kind of enslaved right now. She is going through a very rough time. But it is really interesting in writing. She writes pure fantasy—*Sweet Valley Twins* style. She turns in repeatedly 30-page stories about Jimmy and Jean. And they go to the park, and Jimmy says, "I love you, Jean, and here's this ring, and here's a dress for you." She is leading a wild fantasy life, an escapist life, through her writing. She is even writing in math class, her teacher tells me. It is really important to her. (Interview, May 27, 1991)

Alexandra talked about the new connections that she and her students had experienced once they had left behind the story-starters to become storytellers. Alexandra connected with her students, and her students made new connections between their personal and school lives. Over the next year, Alexandra became confident that she no longer needed to expend her teaching energies "finding worksheets that fit in." Instead, she gave herself and her students permission to find ways to accomplish the same ends through means "that make you comfortable" (Interview, May 27, 1991).

Discussion

How had Alexandra and Linnea answered the core questions we posed in the course: Who am I? What are my beliefs about teaching, learning, and students? Are my beliefs consonant with my practice? What are the consequences of my teaching for the literacy learning and achievement of all children in my class? During the summer, both Alexandra and Linnea clarified for themselves how their personal perspectives had specific consequences for their literacy instruction.

The course sharpened Alexandra's understanding of her own identity and how who she was could contribute to her teaching and her students' learning. She saw how she had formerly narrowed the possible contexts in which students could write—that the language games and story-starters she had formerly used did capture students' interests in writing, yet failed to invite the forms and intentions of students' lived experiences. One year later, Alexandra reflected on how her altered perspectives enabled her students to connect their lives inside and outside of school through their writing experiences.

Linnea had never before confronted how her membership in a particular social class and racial group had bound how she viewed others and how others viewed her and her classroom actions. While her student, Plumer, had angrily pointed out her different treatment of him, and Linnea recognized that she needed to change her practice somehow, she had failed to see how she had reacted to him from a position of power. Plumer's story, read in the context of the stories of Rodriguez, Rose, and Delpit, helped Linnea understand that she had been complicit in maintaining Plumer's silence in her classroom.

In the year following the course, Linnea stopped being afraid of difference. She initiated conversations and personal contact with Joseph and his family. She made time to chat with Joseph during the school day and phoned his mother because she wanted to be sure that she had done her part to connect with him. Joseph reacted positively to Linnea's attentions. He spoke up often in class, became known as a great storyteller by his classmates, and felt liked by his teacher.

Linnea insured that Joseph could not say that she treated him differently because of his skin color. She had begun to alter her perspectives and to make consonant changes in her teaching practices. In addition to modifying her personal approach to the African American child in her class, Linnea had also revised her research assignment for the entire class. As Baldwin had implored, she had moved from being "colorblind" to being conscious of color in her instruction.

We do not claim, however, that Linnea's teaching had become dialogic. For example, many of Linnea's conversations with Joseph focused on his behavior and attitudes toward school, rather than on his interests, knowledge, or skills. In addition, the topic for the library research project—the contributions of African Americans to U.S. history—did not emerge from students' interests. While Linnea was well-intentioned—she wanted to open her classroom to the experiences of "others"—she continued to base her instruction on what she assumed her students would be interested in. She, like Dawn, had neglected to begin on student ground.

We do not suggest that either Linnea or Alexandra have the answer for a multicultural approach to writing instruction. Just as Linnea and Dawn had assumed that the realities of one African American boy were the realities of another, we can't assume that all teaching realities require the same action. Rather, the stories Alexandra and Linnea tell about their teaching set the foundation for ongoing self-examination. We argue that teachers need to make visible to themselves what they bring to their dialogues with student writers through reflection on: (1) how their literacy histories compare to those of others; (2) how their personal experiences may have been privileged in school settings; and (3) how their literacy experiences are tied to their identities. For without such self-examination, teachers may not ask the critical questions about their practice that allow them to invite and extend the literacy forms, skills, and interests that all children bring to school.

Author Notes

Authors' names are listed alphabetically; they contributed equally to the conceptual framing and writing of this paper. The authors thank Wayne Otto for his comments on an earlier draft of the manuscript.

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Johnny Can't Talk, Either: The Perpetuation of the Deficit Theory in Classrooms

Rebecca G. Powell (Eller)

At a meeting of teachers, I commented that I didn't believe that any school-aged child was an incompetent language user, unless of course the child happened to be brain damaged. I was bombarded with negative responses from teachers of young children: "My remedial readers can't form complete sentences." "My children are unable to use simple pronouns appropriately." "My remedial students typically use short words and sentences."

Probably unknowingly, these teachers are espousing what has been called the "deficit theory" of linguistic deprivation. I will attempt here to show how this theory, as it unconsciously operates in the classroom, is largely based upon questionable assumptions about language and how it is used.

Theoretical Perspectives

The "deficit theory" emerged in the 1960s as an attempt to explain why disadvantaged students tend to experience high rates of failure in school. This theory suggests that children from lower socioeconomic homes are verbally deprived due to economic disadvantage. Because they lack verbal stimulation in their homes, they enter school without the linguistic resources needed for success.

The deficit theory further suggests that children from the lower socioeconomic classes "cannot speak complete sentences, do not know the names of common objects, cannot form concepts or convey logical thoughts" (Labov, 1985, p. 179), and consequently "a meagerness of quantity and quality of verbal expression…serves to depress intellectual functioning…" (Raph, 1965). Thus the deficit theory claims that children from disadvantaged populations are intellectually

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disadvantaged as a result of inferior linguistic development.

Research in the early 1970s essentially refuted the deficit theory by demonstrating that children from lower class cultures are highly competent language users when they are permitted to talk in their own vernacular in situations where they can maintain some degree of control (Labov, 1985). In other words, *what* we say and *how* we say it is largely determined by what Halliday and Hasan (1985) have called the "context of situation" in which the interaction takes place: the topics being discussed, the personal relationship of the participants, and the role of language in the interactive process.

Many children, particularly those from a social class or subculture different from the teacher's or researcher's, are likely to be reticent in certain situations, particularly when they are required to interact with an authority figure.

In addition, we often expect children to give verbal elaborations (e.g., "use complete sentences") when responding to tasks for which it would be entirely appropriate to use shorter utterances.

Thus, if children respond to our queries in single words or phrases, it is now recognized the *we need to look at the situation that produced the response*, rather than assume verbal incompetence.

Language Is Symbolic

Some would argue, however, that children who speak nonstandard dialects are linguistics deficient not because they have failed to learn the rules of syntax, but because their language system itself is inadequate.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, for example, Bernstein argued that an "elaborated" linguistic code—typically used by middle-class families—is more useful in school settings because it "facilitate[s] the speaker in his attempts to make explicit (verbally) his intentions," whereas a "restricted code"—used by working-class families—is not oriented toward verbal expansion (Bernstein, 1986, p. 475).

Bernstein has received extensive criticism for his failure to consider in his research the "context of situation" and the interactional nature of communication (Edwards, 1982; Labov, 1985; Osser, 1983; Rosen, 1974; Wells, 1979). Furthermore, linguists have shown that all language variations are equally systematic and complex (Horvath, 1977; Houston, 1970; Labov, 1985).

Therefore, it cannot be claimed that one language system is superior to another; rather, the differences are more symbolic in that they represent social class stratification. Since standard English has traditionally been associated with the upper class, it has been ascribed a higher status in our society and hence in our schools (Rosen, 1979; Stubbs, 1980).

To summarize, it has been shown that all children entering school are highly competent language users; however, they may not find themselves in situations where they are able to demonstrate their linguistic competence (Cazden, 1988; Edwards, 1982; Houston, 1970; Wells, 1986a; 1986b). This difficulty is compounded by popular sentiments about the superiority of standard English over other language forms.

Consequently, the actual deficit under which some children may be operating is simply that their language may be *perceived* as deficient.

Language Use in Classrooms

Most teachers would deny that judgments are made about students based upon their home backgrounds (Haller & Waterman, 1985). This is understandable, for such decisions are generally unconscious and the criteria used are often remarkably subtle (Mehan, 1987).

Although they may be unaware that they are doing so, teachers continually appraise the capabilities of individual students by the way they speak and by their ability to communicate in the classroom (Leibowicz, 1984; McDermott, 1974; Michaels, 1981; Rosen, 1979; Wells, 1986a). I suggest that these judgments are often based upon false assumptions about language and its use.

Consider the following scenarios:

Scenario 1: The teacher and a small group of children are looking at a wordless picture book together.

Teacher: (addressing one particular child): Tell me what is in this picture.
Child: A dog.
Teacher: What else?
Child: A tree.
Teacher: There are other things in the picture.
Child: A little house.

Scenario 2: The teacher and a small group of children are discussing the vocabulary that will be found in a reading selection.

Teacher: Who can tell me what a squirrel is?
Children: [no response]
Teacher: Has anyone seen a squirrel?
Children: [no response]
Teacher: Look! There's a squirrel outside in that tree.
Child: Oh, you mean dat animal dat be out in de tree!

These experiences were both recounted to me as examples of verbal incompetence. Superficially, it does appear that these children are somehow lacking in language. In the first scenario, the child did not respond in complete sentences; in the second instance, the children did not know the appropriate label for a squirrel. Yet it could be argued that in both examples the children were responding appropriately.

Right for the Context

Consider the first scenario. In natural conversations, truncated verbal sequences are typical. In fact, it would be unnatural to respond in complete sentences. Responses such as "A dog is in this picture" would seem artificial and redundant.

Further, since both participants are able to see the picture, the task itself is essentially situation dependent in that the cues are available for reference (Simons & Murphy, 1986). What is the point of telling another person what is in a picture when he or she is looking directly at it?

We place children in a similar situation when we ask them to retell a story that is already known by the others in the group. Verbal elaboration is simply unnecessary, yet for a reason unique to the classroom, we *expect* elaboration (Golden & Pappas, 1987).

Even the comprehension questions found in basal reading programs frequently do not require longer responses. The following example illustrates this. (Questions have been excerpted from *Carousels*, Houghton Mifflin Reading Series, 1986, following the reading of Udry's "What Mary Jo Shared.")

Questions and probable responses:

1. What did Mary Jo share? Her father.
2. How did she feel. Good, happy.
3. Did the other children think that sharing a father was a good idea? Yes.
4. How do you know that? They all wanted to share their fathers.
5. Do you think that Mary Jo's father felt it was important for Mary Jo to share something? Yes.
6. What makes you think that? Because he came to school with her; because he was willing to be shared.
7. Do you think that Mary Jo will share other things from now on? Yes.
8. Why or why not? Because she was encouraged by the positive response from her classmates.

Although all of these questions could potentially elicit a complete sentence as a response, only question (4) requires a response in the form of a sentence.

I am not suggesting that these are "bad" questions; what I am suggesting is that the pattern of discourse that would ensue from such question-answer sequences, and one which seems fairly typical of most primary classrooms, does not permit a great deal of collaboration and interaction between teacher and student. Lacking is any real discussion or real conversation which might take place in a less inhibiting setting.

I would argue that we ought not judge our students' verbal proficiency unless we give them tasks that would provide a valid demonstration of that proficiency.

Produced, Not Inherent

In the second scenario, the teacher is assuming incompetence because the children do not know the label for a common animal. This view is consistent with popular notions about literacy, which contend that students must become "culturally" literate in addition to being functionally literate (Hirsch, 1987).

Certainly students will be at a disadvantage if they do not know familiar terms. We must, however, differentiate between *inherent* incompetence and *produced* incompetence—incompetence which is created when we expect children from "other worlds" to be knowledgeable about "our world."

Just as those of us from more privileged backgrounds might find comprehension difficult when interacting with persons from other cultures, we must be aware of such unrealistic expectations for our students. Instead of assuming linguistic deficiency, we should begin to value our students' cultures at the same time we ask them to value ours.

Acknowledging Competence

When children enter school, they are placed in a different communicative environment that has its own set of requirements and expectations. We assume that they will be able to adapt to this environment and to use language in a way new to them, and when they fail to do so, we tend to label them "verbally deficient."

The danger is that teachers' expectations of students often become self-fulfilling prophecies (Rist, 1970). If we truly believe that our students are verbally incompetent, then they may very well become verbally incompetent.

Further, our negative perceptions of our students' linguistic abilities will be reinforced in typical classroom exchanges. In the words of Wells, "where the teacher has low expectations about a child's linguistic ability, the child's (entirely appropriate) behavior in restricting responses to single words or phrases may provide the teacher with evidence that serves to confirm those expectations" (1986a, p. 86).

Current theories of reading suggest that comprehension is a constructive process in which children use prior knowledge to make predictions and to create a model of the text as they read. Since reading and writing use the symbolic medium of language, the ability to both process and produce a text requires implicit knowledge about the rules of the linguistic system.

It is therefore difficult to understand how we can expect students to actively *reconstruct* a text as they read if we believe they cannot adequately *construct* their own texts. How can we ask children to comprehend and produce written constructions if we doubt their ability to produce acceptable spoken ones?

I am not advocating that we abandon our attempts to teach standard English to our children; certainly our society requires that most adults be able to use the standard form when appropriate. What I am suggesting is that we examine our own biases and avoid the temptation to label children as being verbally inept when their language does not conform to our own linguistic models.

We need to really listen to our students—on the playground, in the cafeteria, in their own homes. When we do, we might be surprised at the remarkable amount of knowledge about language that they have acquired in only a few short years, and begin to reflect upon this mystifying and phenomenal accomplishment.

Once we acknowledge the linguistic competence that our students bring to school, we can build upon this competence by providing diverse opportunities to interact in meaningful situations. This would require that we have real book discussions rather than merely ask children to come up with the answer that is in the teacher's head; that we make creative writing and written expression an integral part of our language arts program; that we permit students to collaborate and negotiate with one another and with the teacher.

Perhaps when classrooms become places where valid exchanges between teachers and learners can take place, we will stop labeling children "verbally deficient" and begin to recognize their true competence as learners.

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Transforming Deficit Myths About Learning, Language, and Culture

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For years our school system has identified students who differ from the mainstream with certain labels. As the decades change, so do the labels. But the same kinds of children are identified as slow learners, learning disabled, culturally deprived, semilingual, limited-English speaking, or the label of the late 1980s and early 1990s—*at risk*. Who are these children? They are largely the children of minority groups, children from low socioeconomic backgrounds, children who are bilingual, or children who speak English as a second language.

We can look back historically and see the development of categories that have been used to identify and stereotype each of the minority groups represented in this population—Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and other Latinos, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans—and more generally, the students who are identified as learning disabled. And we currently have a situation in which many students are doubly labeled—as linguistic minorities and as special education students (Cummins, 1984, 1986; Hume, 1988; Ortiz & Yates, 1983; Stone, 1991).

The category *at risk* continues to be used, like the categories of the past, to separate and classify certain groups of students. Students are identified as at risk for failure from the day they enter the school doors—and this label is used to rationalize their failure if they do encounter difficulty in school (Oakes, 1985).

In this article we critique the label *at risk* and discuss four myths or habitudes, habitually unexamined attitudes, which form the basis of this deficit view of students who are not from an Anglo middle-class world. Underlying these myths are the historical, social, political, and economic policies of those in power that are used to

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control those who are not in power. These policies establish a subordinate role that these groups are expected to conform to and accept.

We compare these myths with alternatives based on different conceptions about children. We cite research from our own work and that of colleagues which indicates how education for students can be meaningful and successful when the basic assumptions underlying these myths are challenged and replaced with other more constructive beliefs. We argue that teachers are the key to successfully reinterpreting the identification of children at risk. Educators who have rejected these deficit myths and nonproductive beliefs have been immersed in settings in which they learn to critically reflect on these traditional ways of looking at students and replace them with a more positive view. It is only through the process of changing ourselves as teachers that we are able to view our students from a different perspective.

Critiquing the Label *At Risk*

The label *at risk*, like other labels, is socially constructed through society's designation of patterns of behavior that are considered acceptable or nonacceptable (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Tomlinson, 1981, 1982). Yet we often accept the label as truth and tend not to connect a label with the social, political, and economic atmosphere in which the label is born and used. Fine (1990) argues that the term *at risk* is an ideological diversion. "It satisfies both the desire to isolate these people, by the Right, and to display them, by the Left" (p. 55). The term is used deceptively to explain failure without considering "class, race/ethnicity, and gender inequities" (p. 65). From Fine's view, the use of such a term "keeps us from being broadly, radically, and structurally creative about transforming schools and social conditions for today's and tomorrow's youth" (p. 65).

A wealth of evidence exists about the effect of these labels. All of the groups that tend to be labeled as *at risk* make up a large percentage of the drop-out population. A study by the American Council on Education indicated that "the proportion of Latino students completing high school slid from 60.1% in 1984 to 55.9% in 1989…the completion rate for blacks rose slightly during the same period from 74.7% to 76.1%" (p. 1). In California, one state with a large minority population, the high school completion rate was 67.3% in general. For Latinos, it was 53.7% and for African Americans, 53.5% (Merl, 1991). Those students in special education are in double jeopardy. The U.S. Department of Education estimated that the drop-out rate among students in special education is at least 19% greater than for nonhandicapped students (Lipsky & Gartner, 1989; Zigmond, 1990).

Many children of color are also identified as special needs learners. Classes designated for the learning disabled and mildly retarded are disproportionally made up of children from low-income and minority families (Cummins, 1984, 1986). The U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights reported on data from the 1986–1987 school year: "While minority students constituted 30% of all public school students, they accounted for 42% of all students classified as educable mentally retarded (EMR), 40% of those classified as trainable mentally retarded (TMR), and 35% of those classified as seriously emotionally disturbed (SED)" (Hume, 1988, p. 5).

Thus, we have entrenched social and political policies that have had negative effects for children. We argue that these policies are based on habitudes rather than realities. Only by examining these habitudes are we able to consider how, through our language and actions, we continue to perpetuate policies that have a destructive effect on children.

Critiquing the Habitudes That Guide a Deficit View

Myth 1: At-risk children have a language problem. Their language and culture is deficient. They lack experiences. These deficits cause them to have learning problems.

The label *at risk* perpetuates the language and cultural deficit myth because variables such as non-English speaking, immigrant, low-income households, poorly educated parents, etc., are often listed as characteristics for identifying at-risk students. Implicit in such a list are the deficit views of biological and cultural determinism.

Language Deficiency and Biological Determinism

One of the most pervasive and pernicious myths about at-risk students is that they have a language deficit. This myth is reserved not just for bilingual and non–English-speaking students. It is also commonly held about African American and other minorities. It is not possible to trace fully the original source of this myth in this article, but we can point to specific places in the research literature where language differences are associated with deficiencies.

Prior to a beginning enlightenment in the 1960s, there was an extensive body of research literature that examined the relationship between language and intelligence as measured by IQ tests (Gould, 1981). A great deal of research has focused specifically on the effect of bilingualism on intelligence (Hornby, 1977). The historical context in which this research took place, however, preordained the results. During the first half of this century, much of this research was conducted with recent immigrants to the United States who were seen as coming from inferior races and cultures (Hakuta, 1986). The results of the IQ tests, which were seen as valid measures of intelligences regardless of language and cultural differences, confirmed the preheld beliefs of scientists—immigrants were inherently less intelligent. Indeed, the cause of this intellectual deficiency was not related to language; rather, it was the other way around. The "language or bilingual handicap" was the result of a general "genetic inferiority" within the immigrants. The linguistic deficiency was a secondary and necessary outcome of "hereditary deprivation."

Vestiges of this belief persist in our society and schools to this day. Although not usually publicly voiced, this view often underlies attitudes and behaviors of teachers and others toward non–English-speaking immigrant students.

Language Deficiency and Cultural Determinism

The language deficiency myth is also perpetuated by a culturally deterministic perspective which argues that differences in social class or ethnic group experiences expose students to linguistically different environments. In this view the language of students from different cultures is seen as inadequate for dealing with the complex uses of language required in educational contexts. The more benign form of cultural determinism admits that both a basic cultural deficiency and social factors such as prejudice and social class hamper student performance.

Teachers who describe their students as "alingual" (they don't speak *any* language well) or who explain poor student classroom performance as a function of cultural or home deficiencies are actually resorting to an extreme form of the cultural deprivation explanation. It is this perspective that negates and invalidates student experiences and permits educators to demand that students (and parents) give themselves to school to be made over and properly acculturated. Such language-cultural deficiency can only be cured by having the student change, to "learn English and be American!"

Myth 2: At-risk children need to be separated from the regular class and need a structured program based on hierarchical notions of language development.

Our schools have institutionalized methods for working with students who encounter difficulty within the mainstream so they are no longer seen as the "problem" of the regular classroom teacher. Educators, policy makers, and parents have complacently accepted that if a child has a problem, the explanation for the problem is found in the child. We often do not question the teaching that has or has not taken place. Instead, the student is identified and placed in a categorical language or special education program. An entire bureaucracy has evolved as a result of our focus on finding deficits in the child's learning ability, language, and culture.

Certainly, some children need some additional support, but categorical programs necessitate identification, labeling, and separation for the student to receive help. This process often negates any possible positive effect from the extra help (Taylor, 1990a). Instead it renders hopelessness, voicelessness, and despair. Such separation also conflicts with our understanding of how cognitive development is best supported. Vygotsky postulates that since cognition is a social process, individuals become proficient learners by engaging in social interactions and experiences under the direction of those more proficient than themselves. Since knowledge is socially constructed, individuals must be exposed to demonstrations by more proficient learners—both peers and adults—to understand the actual use of a particular cognitive process. When the less proficient learners are separated from the proficient learners, the demonstrations taking place in the classroom are decreased or provided by others who are also confused by the process being discussed by the class.

We must also raise questions about the curriculum delivered in the separate program. There has been an assumption that the specialist will provide programs that are more individual, more supportive, and deal more explicitly with student needs. Yet, data from evaluations from special education and Chapter 1 programs indicate that frequently this is not the case (Allington & McGill-Franzen, 1989; Lipsky & Gartner, 1989).

Instruction in the categorical programs designed for these students has been typically based on a different model—a hierarchical model focusing on subskill mastery. The content of the lessons is often so fragmented that the intended goal of the lesson is obscured by its perceived simplicity. That is, the teaching is organized at low levels of cognition based on the (mis)assumptions that "these" children need more direct instruction on the separate parts in order to later understand the complexity of the whole. Unfortunately, this additive perspective results in a self-fulfilling prophecy. The students are confused and do not become proficient language users, not because of their inability to learn, but rather because they do not have opportunities to practice the whole process.

Myth 3: Standardized tests can accurately identify and categorize students who are at risk for learning and language problems.

We have a long history of using standardized assessments to identify and classify students. Reading and math assessments are the yardsticks that are used to measure academic achievement. Basically, "at riskness" is determined by these measures. Current tests used to identify and classify students encountering difficulties measure the complex cognitive processes of language, reading, writing, mathematics, and reasoning through simplistic means. Many question the construct validity of almost all of these assessments, including tests of intelligence (Gardner, 1983; Gould, 1981; Rogoff & Lave, 1984); reading and language (Meier, 1981); and mathematics (Lave, 1988; Rogoff & Lave, 1984). Although there are attempts to construct measures that are more valid, measures that capture the complexity of human thinking have not yet been defined.

Myth 4: At-risk children have problems because parents don't care, can't read, or don't work with them.

Blaming the children's parents, the culture, and their language for their lack of success in school has been a classic strategy used to subordinate and continue to fault the "victim." This "blaming the victim" strategy is not a useful one. Fine (1990) agues that as part of this strategy, public schools represent themselves "as the means for low-income students to escape their local communities" (p. 62).

In a study conducted by Trueba, Moll, and Díaz (1982), interviews revealed that teachers considered Latino parents to be unconcerned about the academic progress of their students. Teachers arrived at these conclusions on the basis of the lack of parent-initiated contact with teachers, especially when students were considered to be academically marginal. Interviews with parents, however, revealed a completely different perspective. Parents were extremely concerned about the education of their children, but they were reluctant to contact teachers and school personnel about this for several reasons. First, as recent immigrants from Mexico, they still held the perspective that the classroom was the teacher's domain. Any attempt to influence what took place, especially on pedagogical basis, was seen by parents as an intrusion into the professional arena of the teacher. It would be considered rude and insulting for parents to presume to "interfere" with the teacher. Parents felt that their role was to support the teacher at home, especially in matters of discipline.

Despite this view, parents were still very concerned about the impact of school on their children and the relative lack of knowledge they had about this institution in the United States. In an attempt to learn more about the schools, parents organized "Cafes de Amistad" (friendship coffees), to which all interested Spanish-speaking parents could come and discuss school and share knowledge. The discussions were very pragmatic. "Why does my daughter have to dress for P.E. even if I request that she not dress due to slight illness or menstruation?" "Why are there no doors on the bathroom stalls?" "Who do we see about finding out about our child going to college?" These discussions revealed a significant knowledge gap in their understanding of school but were manifestations of their extensive concern with knowing more about school.

A second reason stated by parents for not contacting the teacher was their English language fluency and the possibility of embarrassment or miscommunication. Not surprisingly, teachers had interpreted parental silence as lack of concern or interest. Nothing could have been farther from the truth. The problem was not with the parents but with the school personnel who misinterpreted parental behavior through the lens of a perspective that reflected only the view of the institution.

New Assumptions

Based on our beliefs and knowledge about the learning and teaching of language and the role of culture in learning and language, we propose the following four alternative views about children. We believe these assumptions apply to all children, and we have applied them in our experiences in schools. Underlying these beliefs is a philosophy of learning and teaching that focuses on knowledge construction and language as a means of mediation (Freire & Macedo, 1987; Siegel & Carey, 1989; Vygotsky, 1978). It uses new frameworks—sociopsycholinguistics, sociohistorical psychology, sociopsychogenesis, and the sociopolitical philosophy of learning and teaching—to give the teacher the understanding necessary to restructure the social organization of the learning and teaching of language and literacy through mutually constructed social contexts

(Flores, 1986). This new knowledge challenges the status quo literacy and biliteracy curriculum and asks teachers to revalue their habitudes and practices related to the traditional way of teaching language and literacy (K. Goodman, 1991).

Assumption 1: Children are proficient language users and bring many experiences into the classroom.

When we accept our children's knowledge about language, learning, and culture, we not only validate their being but acknowledge their self-worth. We do not disrupt, impose, or threaten their learning processes. Many research studies from multiple disciplines have demonstrated the language and cultural strengths that language learners bring to school (e.g., Anderson & Stokes, 1984; Atwell, 1987; Calkins, 1983; Díaz, Moll, & Mehan, 1986; Edelsky, 1986; Emig, 1983; Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1982; Goodman & Goodman, 1978; Y. Goodman, 1990; Graves, 1983; Halliday, 1975, 1978; Harste, Woodward, & Burke, 1984; Heath, 1983; Lindfors, 1987; Moll, 1990; Tharp & Gallimore, 1989; Wells, 1986).

Whole language pedagogy is using this research base as a foundation from which to support students in becoming proficient readers and writers in school. These knowledge bases are being applied to all students, including those who are usually identified as at risk. By building on the language experiences brought to school by the students, teachers validate students' present knowledge and use it as a stepping stone for the development of more complex understanding.

Assumption 2: Children need opportunities to learn language in rich, integrated settings and can be successful in regular classroom programs.

Creating social contexts in which children engage in authentic language and literacy use is a fundamental theory-in-practice guiding the organization, facilitation, monitoring, and assessment of language learning and teaching (Edelsky, Draper, & Smith, 1986; Freire, 1970; Halliday, 1978). Among the many practices or social contexts that provide opportunities for children to learn language and teachers to teach language are daily read-alouds, reading partners, Drop Everything and Read time (D.E.A.R), pen pals, literature studies, theme cycles, Writers Workshop, interactive journals, learning logs, collaborative stories, inquiry and research, and scientific method. Other contexts remain to be created, developed, and refined.

The teacher acts as a cultural mediator, organizing the learning in order to mediate levels of knowledge between the teacher and the students and among students themselves (Díaz & Flores, 1990). By the teacher's deliberate demonstrations of how written language is used in the social context of authentic dialogue, children's acquisition of literacy knowledge will be facilitated and not impeded (Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1982; Flores, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978). When the teacher deliberately organizes and establishes the social context for authentic oral and written dialogue, she co-creates and mediates knowledge through zones of proximal development as the children "come to know" written language through meaningful social interaction with more capable peers and adults (Vygotsky, 1978). Bilingual children are not only learning literacy in one language, but in two.

Assumption 3: The language development of these students can be effectively monitored by observing their language use in authentic settings across the curriculum.

We propose that primary sources—actual samples of children's work—be used to document their growth or regressions, the peaks and valleys. Much work in authentic assessment and portfolio assessment has taken place already (Bartoli & Botel, 1989; Goodman, Goodman, & Hood, 1988; Harp, 1990; Linek, 1991; Valencia, 1990).

Evaluation based on the perspective of the learner considers the larger social, political, and cultural contexts in which the student lives, learns, and uses language (Taylor, 1990b). It also places us face-to-face with our previous assumptions about evaluation and testing. "Observations of abilities that contradict test scores should not be denied. Rather, they should be accepted as evidence of complexity of the student's learning and a challenge to the limitations of standardized tests" (Taylor, 1990b, p. xiii). Like our other new assumptions, the change in evaluation is not just a change in practice, but rather a shift in our basic perspectives regarding how we look at a child's language use and development.

Assumption 4: The parents of these children are interested in the achievement and success of their children in the school setting and can be partners in the educational experience of their children.

"Fundamental to a strong school-community relationship are certain beliefs…that low-income parents and communities are precisely the 'public' and the constituency to whom public schools are accountable" (Fine, 1990, p. 62). There is extensive research that documents the intense interest that parents of minority students have in the education of their children. The following are but a few examples of the many efforts in which parents have collaborated with teachers and researchers to learn about working with their children. Cummins (1989) cites the work of Alma Flor Ada with migrant parents in a family literacy project. As part of this work, 50 to 60 Spanish-speaking parents met after their working day to select and read children's books to and with their children. The program was very successful and well-attended. Parents became familiar with school expectations for their children and learned how to be supportive of school efforts. Trueba and Delgado-Gaitan (1989) established a similar after-school literacy program for elementary students and parents and found parents to be eager and willing participants.

Heath's (1983) well-known work in minority schooling was initiated in great part at the bequest of African American parents in the black community. They were concerned about the poor performance of their children and wanted to have an explanation. Similarly, Trueba, Moll, and Díaz (1982) found that Spanish-speaking, immigrant parents in a California border town were extremely interested in how schooling affected their children but were reluctant to contact teachers because of fears of encroaching on teachers' professional jurisdiction. In recent work by Moll and Greenberg (1990), teachers are incorporating the "funds of knowledge" of parents from the Latino barrio in order to integrate home and school. As these cases show, parents are greatly concerned about how their children do in school and are willing to sacrifice their time after an often grueling work day to help the children do better in school.

A Practical Application of These Assumptions

It is easy to criticize, and it is even easier to speak in generalities about what "should" be done to make education better. In this section we present a brief, anecdotal sketch of an inner-city school transformation. The transformation is occurring through the application of the assumption described above. Mark Keppel Elementary School is prototypical of large urban school districts across the United States. It serves 600 students, of whom 84% are Latino; 7.5%, African American; 2%, Asian American; and 1%, Anglo-American. Every parent, with only a single exception, is classified as an unskilled laborer. Like other schools of this type, this school scored very low on standardized achievement measures, at the 1st percentile of all schools in California on the California Assessment Program (CAP Test) and at the 3rd percentile when compared to schools serving similar neighborhoods and students.

The transformation process began 3 years ago as part of a project that sought to implement successful elements of bilingual programs (Spiegel-Coleman & Acosta, in progress). The principal and teachers agreed to implement a curriculum that incorporated the assumptions described above and that focused on whole language pedagogy (Edelsky, Altwerger, & Flores, 1990; K. Goodman, 1986). The Los Angeles County (California) Case Studies Project targeted six schools that would be committed to long-term staff development and curricular shift from a very traditional "hierarchical skills" instructional model to a "holistic" pedagogy. The Los Angeles County consultants, along with the site principals, collectively planned and coordinated the staff development that was conducted by the first and third authors.

Teachers' pedagogical knowledge (intellectual, experimental, and attitudinal) about the learning and teaching of language and literacy was the focus of the ongoing staff development. The members of the group collaboratively committed themselves to engage in a long-term transformation in beliefs, assumptions, knowledge, and attitudes. The teachers and the principal, Howard Bryan, worked on accepting the new assumptions and applying them in the classrooms and in the school every day.

The replaced their myths with these new assumptions: (1) Our children bring many strengths to the classroom—ability to learn, proficient language use, and cultural experiences; (2) the teacher can organize the daily social interactions with a multitude of opportunities for language and literacy use; (3) teachers know how to monitor the children's development across many settings on a daily basis; and (4) parents are interested in their children's schooling success. The educators at this school faced the deficit myths head-on, rose above the power of such myths, and applied their new pedagogical knowledge about language and literacy development. It took courage, commitment, a willingness to take risks, and hard work.

In a nutshell, here is part of their story. When we started working together (teachers, principals, and consultants), many staff members lamented the children's "lack of experiences," "lack of parental support in reading," and "lack of language" as the culprits for the children's "inability" to learn how to read and write "at grade level." The underlying beliefs and assumptions related to these statements were the myths that governed the language and cultural deficit knowledge about "these" kinds of children. The change process began with a focus on three areas: staff development; demonstrations, observations, and coaching; and study groups.

Staff Development

Traditionally, staff development is presented to teachers, and they magically are supposed to implement it. Given that we were venturing into a long-term commitment of collaborative teaching-learning-research, we started by organizing and planning day-long staff-development meetings by grade levels and teacher needs. However, this traditional social structure left teachers frustrated because they could not use the practices suggested in the meetings. It was not enough to support teachers in changing practices in their classrooms. It was by listening and acknowledging the frustrations and dissonance that led us to pose the problems of the dialectic between learning and teaching for ourselves. Faced with the simultaneous challenges of creating new knowledge and constructing new social contexts in the classrooms for authentic literacy uses, the teachers resisted, confronted, and explored. The frustrations and curiosities led to creating new ways to deal with their uncertainties and struggles for understanding how the teacher plays the major role in the learning-teaching process. This mediation of teachers' knowledge mainly took place through demonstrations, observations, and coaching.

Demonstrations, Observations, and Coaching

Teachers mediated their students' understandings about language, and the teacher-researcher mediated the teachers' understandings about language learning and knowledge construction. The demonstrations by the teacher-researcher were based on teachers' questions, concerns, issues raised, and need to know. For example, the primary-grade teachers had several concerns about interactive journals. They wanted to know (1) how to respond to the children's journal entries more authentically, (2) how to mediate between the children's levels of knowledge, (3) how to get reluctant children to write, and (4) how to orchestrate the multiple responses during a given time period.

Authentic responses were difficult because teachers were not accustomed to engaging in authentic dialogue using written language with the children. Sharing personal experiences, emotions, feelings, and commentaries were not the norm. Thus, demonstrations in the classrooms served as a mediation between the teacher-researcher's intent and the teachers' growing understanding of this intent. These demonstrations provided an impetus for further discussion and reflection among the teachers and led to the establishment of study groups. These study groups provided the forum for structured debriefing.

Study Groups

Initially, a small group of interested teachers began to meet voluntarily, but this structure did not work. They called it a study group, but it had no organized structure or meeting time. The commitment and need were there, but meeting "whenever" for "whatever" blocked the initial intent, intellectual sharing, sparring, and debate. Faced with this problem, both the teachers and the principal decided to structure formally these study groups so that they met regularly within the traditional school day. This led to reorganizing faculty meetings from the traditional, mundane, everyday-business-as-usual meetings to very lively, dialogic encounters about theories and practices related to their growing understandings, disequilibrium, frustrations, and inquiries about language and literacy learning and teaching. Teachers needed time to think, to develop, to share, to plan, to debate, to question, and to reflect critically with each other. Eventually, this need became so apparent that now every Wednesday is a shortened school day for children, and teachers can use the time to meet in their study groups at least twice a month.

During these study-group sessions, the teachers read research articles, books, or chapters. They use these to expand their intellectual understanding. The other Wednesdays are devoted to various leadership teams' needs such as student reviews, assemblies, athletics, parent-community issues, grade-level needs, school politics, and budget allocations. The institutionalization of the study group not only shifted the teachers' social relations about the value of collaborative learning but also (simultaneously) shifted the power relations between administration and teachers. The principal and teachers cocreated new social structures to share the work needed to accomplish the multitude of tasks in schooling.

Within a few months of questioning myths, reorganizing the teaching of language and literacy, and focusing on the children's strengths, teachers were amazed to see the differences in the children's knowledge and use of written language. They compared what they used to do with what they were now doing. These continuous critical reflections initially resulted in guilt about how they had harmed the children previously. But, they had only done what they thought was in the best interest of the children.

Now, 3 years later, when asked about the impact of their change process, many of the teachers at Mark Keppel Elementary School commented that their beliefs, assumptions, knowledge, attitudes, and instructional practices had significantly shifted. Related to their perceptions of the children's language (oral and written) and experiential capabilities, they critically reflected with the following comments:

> I have more contact with the children on a daily basis and know where my children are in their knowledge construction about written language.
>
> I understand how the children "come to know" the alphabetic principles of the English and Spanish languages.
>
> We also know that our teaching impedes or facilitates our children's learning.
>
> I am learning how to mediate between my kids' levels of knowledge and the knowledge that they need to acquire.
>
> We accept our children's language, experiences, and knowledge about the world; and we begin with that.
>
> We know that the teacher makes a significant difference in the success or failure of our students.

Making a positive difference in the lives of our children while they are in school is the challenge at hand for all teachers. "Seeing the success that the children are having gives me more confidence to continue" was another of the many comments that several of the teachers reiterated.

The principal's leadership role and willingness to shift power relation was also essential to this transformation. One of his fundamental goals was to change attitudes. He commented:

> As the curricular and administrative leader of the school, I wanted to facilitate attitude change. I told teachers that we don't accept low expectations. We can't afford it any longer. If you allow children to do poorly because of outside influences, then you are making an excuse for their failure. The teacher's attitude is more important than her ability to teach.

With such commitment and leadership, the school transformed from a low-academic-achieving school to one with a significant academic performance record. For example, the third-grade CAP scores had risen to the 33rd percentile in comparison to all California schools and to the 82nd percentile for similar schools. These scores reflect significant gains, gains that all involved attribute to the restructuring of attitudes, beliefs, and expectations about at-risk students. Commitment, collaboration, destruction of myths, hard work, and the courage to change made a significant difference in children's lives in school.

Conclusion

The myths about children of color, children from low socioeconomic backgrounds, and children identified as learning disabled need to be exposed and discarded from our beliefs, our expectations, and from our everyday practices. Debilitating myths imprison the mind and render people voiceless and therefore powerless. This voicelessness and powerlessness perpetuates the cycle of oppression, the cycle of inadequacy, the cycle of failure. We can no longer believe in these myths; we can no longer tolerate their intellectual presence; we must begin to *transform* ourselves by not participating in their daily use. We believe in the philosophy articulated by Stenhouse (1985): "It is teachers who, in the end, will change the world of the school by understanding it" (p. vi).

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Cultural Attitudes Toward Reading: Implications for Teachers of ESL/Bilingual Readers

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A substantial body of research in the past 15 years has illustrated how much culture shapes our view of the world, our behavior, and our interpretation of events around us. More specifically, a number of studies focus on how culture shapes children's assumptions about being able to read and the value of reading.

Some of those studies illustrate how different cultures place different emphasis and value on various cognitive activities (Duranti & Ochs, 1986; Fillmore, 1981; Vareene & McDermott, 1986; Wagner, Messick, & Spratt, 1986). That emphasis, in turn, affects the use of these cognitive abilities during reading. Other studies describe the effect of culture on a variety of social factors that influence children's attitudes toward reading and reading instruction (Downing, 1973, 1979; Downing, Ollila, & Oliver, 1975; Heath, 1986; Schieffelin & Cochran-Smith, 1984).

Although this body of research is not always addressed to reading teachers, it enables us to understand better the role of culture in our students' assumptions and behavior. This article highlights some of the most pertinent studies on culturally shaped assumptions about cognition and the nature of reading and explores their implications for reading teachers who work with ESL and bilingual readers.

Because of the variety and complexity of these studies, there are always the dangers of oversimplifying or reinforcing stereotypes, pitfalls that we wish to avoid. We find, for example, some difficulty in presenting studies that come from different research bases; studies of students and their families in their own cultures and native lands are qualitatively different from studies of immigrants to the United States learning ESL in U.S. schools. For the immigrant students in the United States, there are two cultures to deal

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with: the culture of their parents and the culture of the dominant society.

In addition, while all of the studies cited here concern cognition or literacy, they address them from slightly different viewpoints, including that of mainstream reactions to different cultures, which create other variables. Recognizing these complications, we have selected studies that focus most clearly on the cultural shaping of cognitive abilities and attitudes toward reading.

Cognitive Activities

Research on the relationship between cognitive activities and reading includes a number of studies about cultural attitudes. A seminal article by Fillmore posits "cross-cultural differences in cognitive style" (1981, p. 26) that provide our framework for synthesizing other recent studies. Culture determines how people interpret and mentally organize the world, functioning like a software program for a computer to shape the way input is manipulated, and to control what is received and processed (Robinson, 1985).

Fillmore itemizes six cognitive activities that appear to vary in different cultures and that have an influence on second language acquisition, including the skill of reading. She emphatically notes that she is not implying a difference in students' abilities or cognitive development but is simply reflecting how these activities are valued and encouraged in different cultures—how much are they practiced, praised, and rewarded.

1. Sustained and systematic attention (both the child's willingness to remain with a given task over a period of time and the child's attitude toward that kind of activity).
2. Verbal memory (how much the child is expected to memorize materials, recite, or repeat texts and narratives).
3. Analyticity (recognizing patterns and generating new material using them).
4. Playfulness (willingness to experiment, to manipulate materials).
5. Mental flexibility (generating guesses, considering alternatives, hypothesizing).
6. Field dependence-independence (proclivity toward being able or unable to see relationships without reference to background).

Of these six, the first five are the ones that appear as discernible factors in the studies that we are presenting. As to the sixth, while Hansen and Stansfield (1981, 1983) have investigated the relationship of field–dependent-independent learning styles on language achievement, and Hansen (1984) has studied the effect of those learning styles on cloze tests, we are unaware of other studies that examine the relationship between field dependence-independence and attitudes toward reading.

Cognitive approaches and patterning differ within societies that are literate, such as the United States. These differences, however, seem less significant than the differences between literate and nonliterate societies, or societies where literacy is emerging. Societies exist in which the ability to read and write one's native language is not important—either because a particular language does not have a writing system or because reading and writing are simply not necessary to conduct one's daily life.

Thus, we do find cultures where lack of literacy is not looked down on; it is simply a way of life. In such cultures, verbal usage and memory are emphasized more than in literate societies. More attention is given to oral language skills and more demands placed on the ability to memorize.

Oral Cultures: Morocco and Samoa

Two separate studies of traditionally nonliterate cultures highlight the distinct but similar oral heritages of Morocco and Western Samoa and the resulting cognitive emphases.

These two examples will be compared with U.S. classroom reading activities, using Fillmore's (1981) cognitive framework.

Sustained and systematic attention, the first of Fillmore's cognitive activities, is highly valued in both Moroccan and Western Samoan schools. Although Morocco has had a literate segment in its population for hundreds of years (Wagner et al., 1986), the majority of its population, who speak a colloquial dialect of Arabic or a completely different indigenous language, Berber, have only recently been introduced to literacy. Early education for this segment has generally been provided by Koranic (religious) schools or, more recently, modern schools. Girls are now welcome in school. Curriculum content and teaching methods have changed. Math and writing have been added to instruction in the Koran, and instructional games are now used to some extent.

Even so, rote memorization continues to be a predominant tool both in and out of the classroom—at all levels of education; "memorization has been witnessed throughout the higher levels of modern Moroccan school systems extending into the university, to be a central pedagogical principle and acquisition strategy" (Wagner et al., 1986, p. 253).

Western Samoa has had a similar emphasis on oral-aural skills in its public schools, using choral recitation (Duranti & Ochs, 1986). This is due partially to the unavailability of reading materials in the traditional villages. First literacy skills are usually learned in village pastors' schools, but even there a good amount of time is given to oral reading from the Bible and listening to oral reading.

Verbal memory, Fillmore's second category, is prevalent and valued not only in Moroccan and Western Samoan schools but in those societies as well. Wagner et al. (1986) report on a frequent scene at the bus station where passengers seeking their buses and points of departure commonly ask questions of those sitting around in the station even though they are literate and there are boards with that information posted in various spots.

Another example of the value of sustained attention and verbal memory is taken from Western Samoa, where young children "are expected to notice activities of others and report on it to others" (Duranti & Ochs, 1986, p. 221). Four-year-olds are asked to memorize can carry lengthy messages to other persons.

In contrast, very little attention is now given to verbal memory or rote acquisition in American society or schools, especially in teaching native English speakers to read.

American schools place great value on analysis in the teaching of reading, Fillmore's third category. They devote a large part of the elementary school curriculum to it. Students are encouraged to look at the parts to see how they contribute to the whole. What relationships exist between the parts? Are there any parts missing? Could the whole be broken down into different parts?

In contrast, neither the Moroccan nor the Western Samoan study described any school or social exchange that indicated the promotion of analytical skills. There, rote memorization and oral memorization constitute reading instruction.

Playfulness, the fourth category, is characterized by an inclination to manipulate language for the sheer joy of doing so—the child who repeats or chants new words or phrases, who inserts them in unlikely places, for instance, calling a friend "a horseshoe." The ethnic studies we cite were socioeducational in nature; therefore, linguistic playfulness was not examined.

However, playfulness accompanies the kind of cognitive activity Fillmore labels as mental flexibility, the fifth category, the ability to generate guesses, "a kind of talent for seeing and entertaining multiple possibilities" (1981, p. 28). "What do you think would happen if..." "What other choices does X have?" "Why do you think X did such and such?" These are all questions that exemplify the building of cognitive flexibility.

There is no mention of this type of activity in the study on Morocco. There is some evidence that this kind of flexibility is not emphasized in Samoa. Adults who already know the answer to a question will not ask children that question merely to provide them with an opportunity to exercise their language and mental skills (Duranti & Ochs, 1986, p. 230). Heath, citing Schieffelin's and Ochs's work in the South Pacific, states that "labeling and sentence extending practices portrayed as universally common…do not occur in these communities. These groups also do not use the simplifying and attention-focusing strategies (such as the use of 'teaching questions') upon which early reading instruction…usually depends [in U.S. schools]" (1986, p. 215).

In contrast is a study conducted by Vareene and McDermott (1986) on two U.S. students in a U.S. elementary school. Examining the differences between one successful and one unsuccessful student, this study shows that the successful student's mother spent time with her child reviewing her school materials through the use of gamelike activities. For example, the mother might start a sentence stating a fact and the child would finish it. The mother might state an action and the child would state the possible consequences. The cognitive activities that went on in the successful student's home are familiar as activities in U.S. textbooks and schools that promote mental flexibility.

While Moroccans and Samoans are not the major ethnic groups in U.S. schools, we suggest that their cognitive experiences and attitudes regarding reading may be representative of other societies. More research in such cultures is needed to either substantiate or refute the similar emphases in cognitive style and activities that we have noted between Morocco and Western Samoa, two very different societies in similar stages of literacy.

Social Style and Attitudes

Another cluster of recent research centers on social style and the interactive factors crucial to reading. Fillmore notes that the cultural differences for cognitive activities are only suggested by research, but adds that there "is quite clear evidence of such differences related to the social characteristics" (1981, p. 30). Thus far our review of research has considered those cognitive issues as they were observed in the readers' native settings. The following studies focus on sociolinguistic situations both in native and immigrant settings that influence attitudes toward reading. Each one adds elements to our picture of such cultural shaping.

Two studies illustrate how a minority culture's home background influences reading in the language of the majority culture. Downing et al. (1975) examined kindergarten age Indian and non-Indian Canadian children. Both groups spoke English at home, but there were some dialectical differences, and the Indian children's home culture had no tradition of literacy. "On all five measures used the Indian children scored significantly lower. They were less able to recognise literacy activities, less cognisant of their purpose, and had poorer technical knowledge of units of speech and writing" (p. 312). The authors concluded that the Indian children's understanding of the reading process, their "cognitive clarity" regarding literacy skills, was significantly influenced by sociocultural variations.

Indeed, the wealth of ethnographic studies (especially Heath, 1983) that have been completed since Downing et al. have firmly established that children from nonschool-oriented backgrounds do not develop the same literacy orientation as children from school-oriented backgrounds.

Schieffelin and Cochran-Smith (1984) studied three groups: (1) educated, school-oriented parents and their preschool children from a Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, suburb; (2) a Chinese family that had recently left Vietnam, was literate only in Chinese, and had settled in Philadelphia; and (3) a family in a traditionally nonliterate society in Papua New Guinea. The authors concluded that children's interest in print and literacy develops most fully (as in the first case) where there is a cultural orientation toward literacy, but develops with different applications where the children serve as interpreters for their parents, as in the family from Vietnam. Interest in print and literacy generally does not develop in a culture where literacy has limited meaning and function, as in Papua New Guinea.

Downing's 1979 study summarizes and synthesizes the material from his massive earlier study of reading in 14 countries (1973) and identifies numerous social factors that are greatly shaped by culture, including the critical period for learning, the social importance of reading, sex-role stereotypes and standards, educational provisions (facilities), and even class size. In each of these areas, Downing illustrates that decisions that *appear* to be based on fact, scientific evidence, or research are actually shaped by culture and social forces. One compelling example he gives is that cultures determine the best or "critical" age for beginning reading according to social factors rather than physiological ones (1979, p. 122).

Downing also argues that cultural factors create sociolinguistic situations that have an impact on language learning, a conclusion closely linked to his earlier study of Canadian Indian and non-Indian children. He argues that when children's first spoken language is different from the first language they must learn to write (a condition he calls language mismatch), they may become confused and have problems achieving.

Although Downing's main argument is for "cognitive clarity" in the reading-writing process—for children needing to know the exact nature, uses, and value of reading—his discussion of mismatch illustrates that some linguistic situations may be brought about by political decisions or popular emotions about native and second language instruction rather than by educational considerations.

One final example of cultural factors creating a sociolinguistic situation that influences reading ability is described by Lee, Stigler, and Stevenson (1986). Although they were investigating the "role of orthography in reading" and looking for evidence that the *type* of writing system mediates for or against problems in learning to read, they found no evidence to support that hypothesis (p. 140). However, the study did reveal that cultural differences, the social variable, were the major issues. That the Chinese students in Taiwan had higher reading scores (for L1 reading) than the American students in the United States had (for L1) seemed to be the result of the social-cultural variables: time spent in class, amount of homework, and parental attitudes. They concluded that Chinese students were better L1 readers because they worked harder and were encouraged and supervised more (p. 149).

The weight of evidence from our condensed survey of research on cultural attitudes toward reading may leave the classroom teacher feeling somewhat oppressed. And there are other points we could add, such as cultural differences in the amount of adult praise a child receives in various societies. U.S. culture places great value on praising and rewarding children for their participation and accomplishment, both in school and in society. We feel it is an integral part of children's emotional and mental development. But in Samoan society no praise is given to children who carry out their tasks; they are viewed as having done what they were supposed to do, nothing more (Duranti & Ochs, 1986). It is a sad irony that the caring and supportive American teacher who praises students may be embarrassing those who come from other cultures where praise is not expected, at least until the immigrant student comes to understand the use of praise in American culture.

Implications for Teachers

With all these considerations in mind, what can the teacher do in the reading classroom?

- First, investigate your students' cognitive clarity about reading. What concept do they have of reading, of its role in society? What expectations do they have of a reading class?

Johns (1986) lists the following suggestions for reading teachers to help clarify the process for both themselves and their students.

1. Have students share their perceptions about reading.
2. List the assumptions you make while teaching that students may not possess.
3. Write down terms that you use during teaching that students may not understand.
4. Use an audiotape or videotape to record several of your reading lessons. Evaluate the lessons and note terms or assumptions that were not on your original list.
5. Plan strategies to help students develop or refine their perceptions of reading and your instructional language.
6. Determine those reading behaviors you emphasize and reward. Assess the behaviors with respect to helping students form a meaningful concept of reading.

- Second, know the home environment of your students (parents, siblings, and present community) and the home culture. Is their native culture literate? Are the relatives literate in their native language? What is the common method of instruction in that culture's schools? Are the relatives living in the present home fluent and literate in English? Is reading in any language a part of their home activities?

To obtain this knowledge, teachers can interview the parents or other relatives, check with other members of the same culture, visit students' homes, or use local reference sources (community groups, libraries, and knowledgeable professionals).

- Third, develop a flexible interpretation of reading behavior, one that includes behaviors from other cultures. This information may come from educated informants in that culture. Use a variety of means to check reading comprehension; some of them should be nonprint, such as oral or visual prompts, including pictures, signs, ads, or video clips. Interview the students themselves to determine what they think about reading instruction and what they perceive as relevant and useful. If students think that the teacher values their reasons for reading, then they feel more integrated into the reading process.

- Finally, assess the dominant cultural group to which the students respond—their parents or their peers. What advantages and disadvantages does this choice create for them? How might those choices be influencing their progress?

Reading teachers faced with such a diversity of cultural assumptions, both their own and those of each of their students, may feel overwhelmed by the complexity of their task. Our purpose here has been to make teachers conscious of these issues without feeling restricted by them. What is most important is that we remain aware of how culture functions as a cognitive filter for all of us, shaping our values and assumptions, the ways we think about reading, and the ways we teach reading.

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Literacy Learning From a Multicultural Perspective

Ruth Hayden, Editor
Jim Anderson, Lee Gunderson, Authors

Alice was an extraordinary third grader. She was an immigrant who in 2 years had become fluent in English; her intelligence had qualified her as an intellectually gifted student. Alice was most content at school when she was filling out pages in a workbook. She and her family believed that answering questions and filling in "bubbles" in multiple-choice workbook items were essential learning activities that represented the basic goal of literacy learning: to master a set of discrete skills.

Indeed, Alice's parents, like many other Asian immigrants, generally believed that learning should focus on skills, that it should involve memorizing the important pieces of language with a focus on grammar, and that academic knowledge is a set of facts to be memorized.

North American teachers, however, often support an emergent literacy learning model that views learning as exploration in which children construct their own meanings in an environment where risk taking is encouraged. It is important that teachers understand their developmental perspective as a cultural view that is not universally shared.

Heath and Mangiola (1991) remind us, "All cultural groups have some unique ways of transmitting background knowledge about the world and of asking their children to display what they know" (p. 14). That is, different cultural groups have different ways of teaching and learning and different views of what it means to teach and to learn. Gunderson (in press) notes,

> What seems true across cultures and political affiliations is that parents, teachers, and other interested adults seek "the best" for students. However, what is true both within and between cultures and groups is that there are fundamental disagreements as to what constitutes "the best."

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When we first read Shirley Brice Heath's (1983) *Ways With Words*, we saw it through the lens of a deficit model. We now read this work as a call for schools to accept different ways of knowing and different ways of becoming literate.

During the last several years, we have interviewed about 60 Chinese Canadian, Iranian Canadian, and Indo-Canadian parents and approximately 100 students from three school districts (Anderson, 1995; Gunderson, in press). We have found that most of the Chinese, Iranian, and Indian parents and many of their children oppose diametrically many aspects of emergent literacy. Furthermore, some of the literacy activities that parents consider important for their children are antithetical to an emergent literacy perspective. Our analyses have revealed major differences in beliefs about teaching and learning related to accuracy and precision, locus of control, assessment and accountability, expectations, and rote memorization.

Accuracy and Precision

A key assumption undergirding emergent literacy is that learning to read and write are imprecise processes involving approximation and invention on the part of young learners and that adult standards of correctness and convention will not be met in the initial stages of learning. This view was not shared by many of the parents, who tended to believe that accuracy and precision are important from the beginning. Many of these parents were quite critical of invented spelling, suggesting as one parent did that "Yes, I'll correct him as well as telling him that it's not good!" or as another said, "It's important to learn correct spelling [before attempting to write stories, notes, and so forth]."

Many parents saw little value in children's early attempts at reading. One parent for example suggested that "It's not real reading." Parents also spoke of the need for neatness in printing and handwriting. "It's important for children to learn to print neatly; if not, [they] will never improve."

Locus of Control

Within an emergent literacy perspective, children are seen as constructing their own literacy. Teachers are sometimes seen as facilitators of learning, and the importance of direct instruction is downplayed. Many parents had quite different views. They tended to believe that teachers should impart information, and students should learn and retain it. For example, one parent reported, "I saw my son's classroom and everyone was talking. I couldn't find the teacher; she was sitting down reading."

Similarly, while storybook reading is often portrayed by mainstream educators as a highly interactive event in which the participants "negotiate" meaning, many parents in our studies believed the child's role is to listen and remember. One parent stated, "I like my son to retell the story for me after I finish reading it. It would be too disturbing if he interrupted."

Assessment and Accountability

Several parents indicated the need to check children's understanding through a series of questions about stories they had heard or read themselves. As one parent said, "I like to ask [my] child questions at the end of each story and explain to her if she doesn't understand"; another remarked "That way [by asking questions] I'll know if he has grasped what he has read." Commenting on her child's report card, one parent lamented "My Grade 3 son doesn't get any grades." Their views of assessment and evaluation were related to their views concerning memorization and learning.

Expectations

As we listened to the parents in our studies, it became clear to us that fundamental differences existed between parental expectations and the expectations they believed North American schools held. For example, many decried the lack of homework, complaining that "The teachers don't give enough homework" and "They let the students talk too much." Others stated, "The way they teach is different from Hong Kong."

Rote Memorization

An often repeated criticism of school learning practices related to memorization. Both students and parents found the lack of memorization difficult to understand, suggesting "Canadian schools are too easy; you don't have to work hard." The preferred method of learning was rote memorization and lots of it: "In Hong Kong we spent all day in class memorizing, memorizing, memorizing, and then when we go home at night we do some more." Memorization meant that students were learning; they were acquiring knowledge.

Discussion

Parents and children who come to North America from other countries have differing views about teaching and learning, views that are different both across and between groups. Many arrive with the cultural belief reinforced by their own school experiences that the teacher is the source of knowledge, which she or he should communicate to students. Our studies indicated this belief in the transmission model crosses both cultural and socioeconomic boundaries. For many immigrants, learning represents the acquisition of a large number of facts through rote memorization.

Some of the Asian parents believed passionately that an emergent literacy approach violated their children's right to learn the knowledge they needed to succeed. The view that teaching should involve a focus on facts is shared by parents in immigrant and nonimmigrant groups across North America and by some teachers as well (Anderson, 1994).

It is simply not enough to dismiss divergent views about young children's literacy learning as wrong. Although we believe these differences between parental beliefs and expectations about literacy learning and teaching and school-based literacy practices are problematic, we do not see them as insurmountable. We believe that we can honor and respect parents' beliefs while at the same time help them understand the reasons behind our literacy programs. However, educators must recognize the incongruencies we have described and take steps to address them.

Parents must be informed about the nature and expectations of the school's reading and writing programs on a regular and systematic basis. For example, regular ongoing sessions for parents of primary-grade children, in which such things as the developmental stages of invented spelling are explained through the use of portfolios of children's work from previous years, are essential.

Because many parents will equate learning with rote memory and isolated drill and practice, we think it is important to help parents envision learning more broadly. We must make our classrooms inviting spaces for parents so that we can demonstrate this broader view to them. Parental involvement in the classroom is a marvelous way to allow them to view and understand the teaching and learning that takes place there.

We also believe it is important for teachers to recognize that there are many ways for children to learn to read and write and that emergent literacy reflects a particular perspective of literacy acquisition. Teachers should encourage parents to support their children's literacy learning in ways familiar to them, even though the practices might not reflect the teachers' beliefs. Indeed, teachers can provide a range of literacy activities, including some considered more traditional, which build on what parents do at home. Many parents and students have deeply ingrained beliefs about what teaching and learning should be; some of these beliefs may be antithetical to the tenets of emergent literacy. The most difficult problem for teachers is to examine critically parental beliefs and to design programs that will allow for diversity without compromising well established principles of language and literacy teaching and learning.

Our research has raised questions that have no simple answers. We resist the temptation to trivialize the complexity of the problems by offering simplistic solutions. Instead, we suggest that teachers consider a range of possible ways to address diverse beliefs and expectations. For example, to address parental concerns about rote memorization, teachers may have children self-select rhymes, poetry, raps, songs, and stories to memorize as homework assignments. These activities promote phonemic awareness and are valued by parents.

Parents can learn how to support their children's developing knowledge of spelling in ways that do not belittle invented spelling. For example, the teacher can show parents that instead of responding negatively to a child's spelling of *was* as *wuz* by saying "That's wrong!" they can say something like "That's a good try: You spelled it like it sounds, but I spell it *w-a-s*."

Teachers, like parents, want to provide the best learning environments for their students. In our zeal to provide what we are convinced are the best literacy programs, we must take caution not to ignore children's out-of-school literacy experiences. Even though they may be entirely different from those valued by teachers, students' experiences need to be acknowledged, valued, and built upon.

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P A R T T W O

Principles of Instruction

Dorothy S. Strickland

More than ever before, American educators face extraordinary challenges related to an increasingly diverse student population. Today's classrooms reflect the linguistic and ethnic diversity of a nation in which social and cultural boundaries are changing rapidly. In many school districts, increased diversity is coupled with lower achievement levels and higher dropout rates. As a result, changes in the school population have often caused tension between established institutional practice and the need for restructuring school policy and practice.

The authors in this part address these issues and the need for new and creative ways to deal with them. They offer an abundance of evidence, indicating that we already know a great deal about how to meet the challenges we face. They also give concrete suggestions for restructuring policy and practice to meet the needs of all learners.

The authors share much in common. Each embraces a constructive view of literacy learning, focusing on meaning as created by the interaction of reader and text. Learners, whether they be Navajo, bilingual Spanish-English, or African American, are viewed as active participants in their own learning. The social context of the learning and the relationships between the learners and other persons in the learning environment emerge as vital factors in the learning process. The sociocognitive aspects of learning continually take center stage as each author explores the uniqueness and the similarities of a particular community of learners.

A number of recurring themes run throughout all the articles. Two overriding issues are most prevalent, however. First, the authors express deep concern, and I agree, that differences among students not be seen as barriers to literacy acquisition. They view the recognition of differences as opportunities to build on the diversity among students. Thus the differences among students become valuable resources used as opportunities for learning. This is a fundamental principle that must be embraced if the needs of all students are to be addressed.

A second major issue is the notion that all children have linguistic and cognitive strengths regardless of their first language or dialect or the income level of their homes. Thus, these authors reject a deficit perspective toward these children as learners. They express concern about the widely held belief of many educators that poor achievement test scores coupled with cultural differences, a dual-language background, and limited familiarity with academic language skills in English represent automatic grounds for believing that students lack language and are therefore limited in their ability to perform cognitive tasks. This is an extremely powerful and important point. It is also one that must be resolved in the *head* before it can be implemented through curricular reform.

These two overarching concerns are addressed and readdressed throughout this part, along with the following variety of recurring themes:

Variability exists within and across linguistic and cultural communities. I believe this is a critical point, particularly when teachers think and talk about the homes from which their students come. A deficit view of the homes of these children is highly prevalent. Too often, teachers express the belief that little occurs in students' homes that is of value in school. The tendency is to characterize all homes of linguistic or cultural minority children in much the same way, though they vary tremendously as do homes in the broader mainstream community. Equally important is an understanding that the children within those homes vary as well.

A student's conceptual framework and background experiences are critical to literacy learning. Students learn how literacy is used and how literate knowledge is communicated within social settings, both at home and at school. Both teachers and students must learn to respect the idea that individuals construct meanings from different perspectives and understand how one's own meanings may differ from those of others.

Both learning and teaching are enhanced when context is acknowledged and used. The need for teachers to be aware of the influence of their students' culture is stressed. It is quite possible, for example, that second-language learning may fail in the regular classroom not because of a language barrier but because non-Hispanic teachers are not aware of important cultural differences.

The use of language for real communication enhances learning. Authentic assignments and literacy strategies must allow all students to use meaningful, functional oral and written language.

The use of materials and experiences to which students can relate helps establish and expand their conceptual framework. Educators are urged to become more knowledgeable about multicultural literature and the unique culturally based interactional styles or discourse patterns of various groups and the potential impact on children's learning. (See the additional parts in this volume for a wealth of helpful resources.)

A focus on high-level thinking and problem solving is critical for all children. Deep concern is expressed about literacy instruction that focuses on low-level mechanics or pronunciation at the literal or word level, with minimal or no attention to the comprehension of meaningful texts. In view of the type of instruction that many of these students face daily, a lack of interest and motivation is probably a sensible response.

One of the key areas of concern for me continues to be the need for teachers to view diversity as just that. It is not simply those who are characterized as *diverse* (meaning minority children, poor children, and second language learners) as opposed to the others who are not diverse (meaning white, mainstream learners). There is a tendency, even among researchers and scholars, to lump the so-called diverse students into one group with one-size-fits-all solutions. I would take this a step further in terms of valuing the diversity within a particular group as paramount to understanding something about the nature of that group. For example, Hispanics come from many countries, many different cultures, and many different backgrounds within each culture. The same holds true for African Americans, who may have recent origins in the West Indies, the southern United States, Africa, or elsewhere. My concern is that many of the courses and workshops designed to help teachers deal with diversity may actually perpetuate stereotypes by only stressing generalizations and not addressing the variability within groups. Thus, students are led to believe that all African American children think or speak in a particular way or that all children of a particular culture engage in certain discourse styles exclusively.

My own personal experiences have made this concern very evident to me. At a recent regional conference of the International Reading Association in the southwestern United States, I was approached by a woman who inquired as to whether my speech—my way of talking—was considered a New Jersey black standard dialect. I was mystified. This was clearly a very sincere inquiry but a perplexing one nonetheless. This person, a classroom teacher, was puzzled that a black person could sound the way I do.

Unfortunately, questions like this are not uncommon after I give a speech. Most often, teachers want to know when I lost my southern accent. (I have never had a southern accent, nor have I lived in the South.) Sometimes they express surprise that I don't have a New Jersey accent. I can only attribute this to the movies. I am not offended by the questions, although I must confess a little annoyance sometimes. They do raise an important issue, however. Why is it that we need to pigeonhole people into specific categories? And why are we so disturbed when they don't fit the category to which we have assigned them? The point, of course, is that we need to help teachers become aware of the dangers of assigning attributes to people based on the color of their skin, their surname, or their geographical origins. Teachers, of all people, need to suspend judgment about the "diverse" students in their classrooms, just as they would about the "others." Otherwise, they run the risk of having what is known about self-fulfilling prophecies act to students' detriment. Students need opportunities to reveal who they are as learners and what they can contribute to the learning situation. This should never be predetermined.

Finally, it is obvious from this set of articles that neither the problems nor the solutions regarding diversity are unidimensional. Fortunately, all the contributors express some degree of optimism. The application of relevant theoretical frameworks in conjunction with socially responsive and supportive program structures can, indeed, make a difference for all children.

Acceptance and Caring Are at the Heart of Engaging Classroom Diversity

Jay Casbon, Barbara R. Schirmer, Editors
Lindy L. Twiss, Author

Current research, practice, and trends regarding the literacy learning of diverse learners is a major topic of conversation among educators and other professionals because of the rapidly changing demographics in some regions. It is becoming increasingly clear to psychologists and educators that all cultures have their own epistemologies and that "culture" refers to more than music, food, or history. Psychology researchers, in examining barriers to effective cross-cultural counseling in recent years, have found differences in culture-bound values; in verbal, emotional, and behavioral expressiveness; in cause-and-effect orientation; and in patterns of communication (Sue & Sue, 1990). Teachers must develop a sensitivity to the cultural differences psychologists have documented in order to be effective in multicultural situations.

Culturally bound values are subject to misunderstandings between culturally different populations. Therefore, teachers working with literacy learning curricula for diverse learners must be sensitive to the realization that good intentions in cross-cultural instructional situations may fail because of the mechanisms underlying attributional differences or the assumptions or inferences we make about the causes of behavior (Albert, 1983). Social psychologists have discovered that the occurrence, form, and meaning of a particular behavior in a particular situation may well differ from culture to culture because of differences in norms, values, role expectations, and historical experience. For example, a compliment may be interpreted as an attempt to manipulate the student, assistance may be interpreted as patronizing, and silence of an individual from one culture may be interpreted as hostility by a person of another culture.

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Salzman (1990) conducted a study about 56 incidents that occurred between Navajo and Anglo school personnel, students, and teachers. All but 10 of these incidents yielded different patterns of attributions from Navajo and Anglo respondents.

The cross-cultural interactions failed "because they produced confusions, misunderstanding, or conflict between Navajo and dominant culture people in a public setting" (p. 29).

Salzman (1995) offers the following example:

> An Anglo teacher greeted a Navajo coworker one morning when she arrived at work. She was new to the Reservation and was eager to appear as friendly as possible. The Anglo teacher offered a "Good morning!" followed by comments on the weather, her feelings, and, after a brief pause, continued walking away down the hall.... Why did the Navajo walk away in apparent discomfort? (p. 184)

While the Anglo teacher felt the transaction to be unfriendly, Salzman (1995) interprets it differently:

> The Navajo coworker was not used to casual conversation. The Navajo coworker "had no idea" how to respond to comments about the weather, the "good morning," or the other aspects of the conversation. A Navajo interpretation of the contextual information of the conversation concluded, "Why talk about things you can't control." "How are you" is considered a negative—don't ask—you may be inviting bad fortune. "Good morning" doesn't translate. A more common comment is "Where are you going?" (p. 185)

Missed opportunities to connect with students of diverse cultures can be reduced if the pedagogy accounts for the diversity and complexity of a culture. For example, American Indian students come from cultures that accentuate nonverbal communication, visual-spatial memory, visual motor skills, and visual memory over other skills that may be valued in schools (Locust, 1988). By the same token, achievement tests, conducted in English often result in low verbal scores for students whose first language is not English. Students use language better in situations in which their dialects are accepted. Literacy instruction should include assessment practices that allow proficiency in dialects other than standard English.

A high school in Portland, Oregon, celebrates diversity by valuing and respecting the languages of its very diverse student population. Students are allowed to speak their primary languages except when instruction specifically focuses upon learning English. Lucas, Henze, and Donato (1990) studied six high schools recognized for their success in teaching language-minority students. The authors found that the schools "celebrated" diversity by honoring minority languages, offering an extensive variety of courses in primary languages of the students, providing bilingual honors courses, and expecting outstanding work. The learning process in these schools included small classes, academic support programs, and extensive parent involvement through early morning meetings and monthly parent nights. Teachers and staff acted as advocates for their students in community activities as well.

Cross-cultural engagement helps to reveal our personal assumptions and differences. The more we understand culturally different perspectives in interpreting the human experience, the more we are aware of all that we do not understand. Perhaps what is required is a cross-cultural code breaker that can free us from social blind spots. Certainly the teachers and staff involved in the six high schools reported by Lucas et al. (1990) learned much about their students and community by being directly involved with community activities and by working intensively with parents. Teachers must develop "a sympathy toward others, an appreciation of difference, an ability to imagine one's otherness" (Meier, 1995, p. 140). Perhaps the real test of a person's professional maturity, the core piece of cross-cultural code breakers, is the ability to relate collectively and individually to realities other than one's own.

Davidson's (1996) work is helpful in attempting to understand how students deal with ethnic or racial identities while engaged in the schooling process. Davidson contends that schools can be important cultural centers for the construction of student identities as students learn to consider and contrast their primary culture with the dominant culture. Relating to divergent realities through connection is exactly what Margaret Wheatley recommends to educators (in Steinberger, 1995):

> The solution is never to sharpen the boundary, to circle the wagons; instead of pulling in under pressure a better response is to reach out.... And schools are becoming more accessible and having more involvement with their communities. Think of the amount of energy it takes to protect ourselves psychologically from people we disagree with or to protect whatever it is we are doing that we don't want to share. A lot of energy gets used up in fear and defending ourselves. Schools where I've sensed excitement and enthusiasm have an openness to other cultures, and people feel connected beyond their immediate groups. (p. 181)

In a recent visit to a rural school district in eastern Oregon, where the Hispanic population increased from 10% to almost 40% in less than 5 years, we found that teachers were very aware of the many challenges of cross-cultural interactions and had begun to look for solutions through connections and relationships. In discussions with community groups, which included school board members, and in staff-development sessions, teachers explored cross-cultural concerns and gradually realized that cross-cultural learning is an asset for all students and the community at large. The discussions helped to form new connections of understanding and generated a willingness to explore new ideas with an openness for divergent voices from the community. The process was instrumental in developing a consensus for needed change in both the community and the school district.

Recently the school district hired a superintendent fluent in Spanish and committed to cross-cultural understanding. Additionally, a key part of the new superintendent's contract included the expectation that the superintendent (as well as the school board) would exhibit multicultural and ethnic understanding in the community by taking a proactive role in community leadership. This district is optimizing the potential of all its students to develop literacy by investing in a whole-district outreach to its cultural realities.

Organizational structure and leadership are also important dimensions in affirming or disaffirming cross-cultural relationships and helping to create an environment in which multicultural learning can take place. Organizational theorists write that organizations such as schools can be configured in one of two basic ways: in a hierarchical, authoritarian model or in a horizontal and collaborative model in which process determines structure as well as outcome. Eisler's (1987) "dominator" versus "partnership" models of social relationships draw important distinctions for professionals working within multicultural environments. Organizations with more hierarchical and authoritarian structures are more apt to repress diversity. Organizations structured around the principles of collaboration and process tend to be more caring, to affirm diversity, and to be more successful in generating literacy among their multicultural students.

Caring is the key word. Beck (1995) defines a caring paradigm for organizations:

> I am concentrating on caring that is oriented toward persons and, further, am emphasizing both ethics and activities concerned principally with caring.... Scholars who have explored this topic in depth note that caring always involves, to some degree, three activities. They are (1) receiving the other's perspective, (2) responding appropriately to the awareness that comes from

> this reception, and (3) remaining committed to others and to the relationship. (p. 12)

Beck draws upon psychology, history, economics, philosophy, and fiction to illustrate key components of caring such as being nurturing, being in community, and being willing to make sacrifices.

> Caring is, finally, distinguished by the fact that there is a commitment between the people who care. This commitment shifts caring from being a conditional act dependent on merit or whim, and moves it toward being an unconditional act marked by acceptance, nurturance, and grace. (p. 20)

Educators committed to restructuring curriculum and assessment to accommodate multicultural students and school districts interested in examples of leadership that foster rather than hinder diversity do not have far to go to find models. They might start with those described in this column. The momentum toward such change, driven by the inevitability of changing demographics, is building. The only question is how fast and how effectively we can learn to place acceptance and caring at the heart of engaging classroom diversity.

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Seven Strategies to Support a Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

Francesina R. Jackson

American demographers report that even as public school populations are becoming increasingly more ethnically, linguistically, and economically diverse, the teaching force in the United States is becoming more homogeneous (Evangelauf, 1988; National Educational Association, 1987). Coupled with these data is the fact that many economically disadvantaged students, students of color, and students for whom English is a second language generally perform academically less well than their mainstream counterparts.

These data suggest a continued inability of the schools to adequately address the academic needs of a large proportions of U.S. student populations. One must have faith that teachers could develop multicultural competencies focused on teaching to diversity and thus improve the achievement of these students (Delpit, 1988; Heath, 1983; Villegas, 1992).

School administrators have begun to respond by providing inservice workshops on teaching diverse student populations. Too often, however, these workshops prove ineffective. Sleeter's (1990) analysis of multicultural workshops offered in various school systems shows that the workshops focused on awareness or sensitivity training and on enhancing intercultural understanding and recognition—laudable goals, yet teachers continue to say "OK, I now know how nonmainstream students differ from mainstream students, but how can I change my delivery of instruction to address these differences?"

Essentially, these workshops fall short in providing modification strategies. Too little attention is given to helping teachers recognize the strengths that culturally different students bring to the class and capitalize on these strengths.

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especially if they do not match the teacher's preconceived notion of the norm.

Baruth and Manning (1992) believe that effective teachers in a multicultural setting possess appropriate knowledge, attitudes, and skills, and that there are specific strategies that most American teachers already employ but may not recognize as ones they can use to enhance multicultural learning. I too assume that most classroom teachers already possess the prerequisite attitudinal competencies, such as having high expectations for all students and of attempting, to the extent possible, to avoid stereotypical thinking that may negatively skew their perceptions of students' abilities.

Not only must teachers focus on enhancing their own professional competencies but they must create a classroom climate that promotes positive intercultural interactions between students. Among generic strategies to address this, teachers need to include conflict resolution, active listening, and procedures to discuss controversial topics.

This article asks teachers to view some of the common strategies that they currently employ in literacy instruction, and then review them from a culturally sensitive perspective. In this article I describe seven strategies. Although all seven are standard strategies in and of themselves, they are also integral components of a culturally responsive pedagogy.

Attendees at several recent multicultural workshops that I have given have identified these seven strategies as providing immediate payback for their efforts. It is important to note that the seven can be used across all grades and disciplines. They are not presented here in hierarchical order; rather they are to be viewed as recursive and interrelated.

Strategy 1—Build Trust

An often overlooked component of an effective classroom is mutual trust between teachers and their students. Teachers who build trust have been able to engender in their students a level of confidence and belief that what they do in that classroom is worthwhile. Concentrating heavily on the cognitive aspects of teaching comes at the expense of developing the affective aspects. Teachers need to examine their relationships with their students to determine how effectively they are building the trust factor.

One strategy for building trust might include learning students' names and pronouncing them correctly. All first names have some unique meaning and are of interest for discussion, but students from nonmainstream cultures may have nonmainstream names of special significance. Since the late 1970s, an increasing number of African American parents have given their children African first names. Teachers can capitalize on this practice by according recognition and interest to these given names and asking students to research the country where their names originated and their meaning.

Another way to build trust is to have students research and share information about their family's ethnic background. For example, I have asked students in groups of four to answer questions adapted from Covert's (1989) model:

1. What generation in the United States do you represent? Are you and your siblings the first of your family to be born in this country? Were you foreign born?
2. Where did you or your ancestors migrate from? Within the United States? From outside the United States? What made them wish to come here?
3. Does your immediate family or extended family practice ethnic or cultural customs that you or they value or identify with? For example: foods, celebrations, traditions, social behaviors, manners, beliefs. What customs do you prize the most? Do you or your relatives speak your ethnic group language?

4. What occupations are represented in your family background?

After sharing, students analyze information in terms of their similarities and differences. Participants have said this activity gives them an opportunity to share their background in a nonthreatening way. The discussions have also heightened mainstream participants' interest in and appreciation for their own ethnic backgrounds. Many European Americans have commented that this activity sensitized them to their own ethnic roots.

Strategy 2—Become Culturally Literate

Historically, "minority" people have had to be bicultural, bidialectical, and bicognitive (I do believe that people in different cultures think rather differently) in order to achieve in mainstream U.S. society. By the same token, few demands were made on mainstream members, including teachers, to learn about diverse cultures. To avoid mistakes of the past, teachers will have to assume responsibility for becoming at least biculturally and if possible multiculturally aware. Teachers need to learn about their students' language, interactional style, learning styles, and values.

Delpit (1988) recommends that teachers use ethnographic procedures to learn about their culturally diverse students. These procedures may include observing students in nonschool settings: visiting community churches, talking to community leaders, and making home visits, thus allowing teachers not only to learn about nonmainstream communities, but also to tap the community's rich resources to incorporate in their classes. These visits will provide opportunities for teachers to dispel the mistrust that nonmainstream community members hold toward representatives of the power structure. The teacher's mere presence conveys to the community a sense of genuine concern for and interest in the nonmainstream youngsters.

I have observed some nonmainstream youngsters perform in an exemplary way in community organizations but receive little recognition for these efforts in the school. School administrators might recognize and reward service rendered outside the school.

Becoming bilingual is an obvious plus for a teacher, but even demonstrating serious interest and engaging in steps toward understanding their students' language, whether it is black English, Spanish, or Vietnamese, is a sure-fire step in Strategy 2.

Strategy 3—Build a Repertoire of Instructional Strategies

Although the research shows that students have their preferred learning styles (Dunn, Beaudry, & Klavis, 1989) and that these are culturally specific (Hillard, 1989), U.S. schools remain entrenched in a culture that is Eurocentric and middle class. According to Shade (1982), the traditional educational setting rewards students who exhibit the following characteristics: an attentional style that focuses on tasks and verbal instructions rather than on the people in the environment; an information processing approach that is logical, linear, sequential, and analytical; the ability to sit for long periods and attend to one idea, event, or task; the desire to be independent, self-starting, and competitive; the ability to deal with ideas and concepts without concrete replication of them; a perceptual style that helps in the differentiation of relevant from irrelevant information (field independence).

In contrast to the American school culture, students from culturally different backgrounds are often more field dependent (Ramirez & Castaneda, 1974), process information in nonlinear ways (Hillard, 1989), tend to be physically active (Shade, 1982), and may value group affiliation above individual competitiveness (Hillard, 1989).

Educational research demonstrates that instructional strategies such as cooperative learning provide a more appropriate cultural match between instructional styles and learning style for some minority students and result in improved learning (Little Soldier, 1989; Slavin, 1987).

An interesting variation of presentation is described by Hollins (1982), who suggests that Marva Collins's instructional strategies might be especially culturally relevant for African American students. Hollins states that Collins uses interactional patterns commonly found in the African American church, such as choral and responsive readings. In this instance, the teacher will ask a question or give a prompt, and students will respond in unison, sometimes in a rhythmic fashion. Teachers will wish to evaluate this suggestion in the context of their particular classroom milieu.

It may be wise for all teachers to consider limiting the amount of assumptive teaching that takes place in the classroom. Some teachers assume that all students are able to perform academic tasks, but that some are simply unwilling to do so. In fact, some students really cannot do so, not because they lack the ability to perform these tasks, but rather because their culturally different environments have not laid the groundwork for such behavior.

Further, it is important for teachers to teach explicitly the underlying thought processes used to study a particular discipline. Scholars refer to this ability to control and monitor thought processes as metacognition. Specifically, metacognition is defined as "thinking about one's own thinking" (Brown, Campione, & Day, 1981). Students who are aware of their thought processes can modify how they approach tasks so as to choose the approach best suited to the discipline.

Much of metacognitive skill development takes place in the home and the community. Because of the close cultural match between school demands and mainstream, middle-class ideals, European Americans have a clearer perspective of the kind of thinking skills needed for academic achievement. On the other hand, a basic cultural mismatch occurs as students from diverse cultural backgrounds come to school valuing intuitive learning and prizing nonverbal behavior (Hillard, 1989; Shade, 1982) more highly than institutional norms that assume that students will think in a linear, analytical manner and value precise language. This condition suggests the need for American teachers to model explicitly the thinking processes needed to master a discipline area.

Strategy 4—Use Effective Questioning Techniques

Researchers highlight the fact that teachers directed too few higher-order questions to all students, especially to those for whom they had low expectations (Allington, 1983; Durkin, 1978–1979). Higher-order questions are important for several reasons:

First, they promote the development of analytical and evaluative thinking skills.

Second, higher-order questions affirm the students' self-perceptions as learners. (Essentially, higher-order questions suggest to students that they possess the knowledge, values, and characteristics that will allow them to be successful. Most importantly, open-ended questions that require students to synthesize, analyze, and evaluate information convey to students that their opinions are valued.)

Third, higher-order questions allow students to see themselves as knowledge producers rather than knowledge consumers. In this instance students learn that appropriate responses are not always found in the text or with the teacher but within themselves.

Literal level questions, on the other hand, implicitly teach that the knowledge that is worth knowing and valuing lies outside themselves. More often than not, these sources of knowledge in a U.S. school come from a Eurocentric perspective.

Strategy 5—Provide Effective Feedback

The research shows that American white, middle-class males receive feedback that is more concrete, specific, and directed toward academic learning than that given to other population groups or to females (Baker, 1986; Irvine, 1986; Jones, 1989; Oakes, 1985). Too often students of color receive feedback that relates to personality variables or the neatness of their work rather than to academic quality. Teachers need to make a conscious effort to analyze the quality of feedback they give all students, and apply a special degree of sensitivity to their feedback to nonmainstream students.

Three points are crucial to improving the quality of feedback teachers give students: First, accentuate some positive feature of the students' work. Second, be specific and focus comments on the academic components of the work. Third, communicate to students how to correct errors and how to improve the overall quality of the work.

Strategy 6—Analyze Instructional Materials

Banks (1981) advocates that teachers become familiar with criteria for assessing the quality of cultural sensitivity in instructional materials used. Some of these criteria might include the following:

1. Accurate portrayal of the perspectives, attitudes, and feelings of the groups being studies.
2. Inclusion of strong ethnic characters in fictional works.
3. Ethnic materials devoid of racist concepts, clichés, phrases, or words.
4. Historically accurate factual materials.

I further urge teachers to develop their own instructional materials with student appeal. For example, when teaching a group of African American middle school students to locate the main idea in a paragraph, I developed the following text: "The rap group Public Enemy encourages youngsters to stay in school and get a good education. The group Heavy D and the Boyz sings about the dangers of drug use. Some rappers sing about events in black history."

I observed students' paying closer attention to this paragraph than to previous paragraphs used for the same activity. Information in the paragraph focuses on content with which they were familiar. The purpose was for them to learn the skill of locating the main idea, and they had such interest in the content, they understood easily and enjoyed the assignment.

Strategy 7—Establish Positive Home-School Relations

Educators are well aware of the importance of parental support in the educational process, even at the middle and high school level. However, we generally fail to take a proactive stance toward establishing positive relationships or eliciting parental support early in the school year. Educators typically call parents when students experience difficulty. This is especially true for nonmainstream students who are disproportionately identified as showing behavioral problems.

An analysis of longitudinal data collected over a 7-year period showed that preservice teachers expressed a lack of confidence in their ability to communicate effectively with nonmainstream parents. Their response was one indicator of the teacher education program's ineffectiveness in preparing these university students to interact appropriately with culturally diverse populations (W.I. Burke, personal communication, October 1991).

At the beginning of the year, teachers can send home a note to express their enthusiasm for having the student in the class. It is especially important to follow up these notes with a telephone call to discuss the student with the parent. Examples of questions might be to ask parents what they perceive to be the student's strengths, weaknesses, and interests. Teachers can incorporate this information as they plan future lessons. They can then address those areas of parental concern and of pride in the future. It is important for teachers to encourage parents and students to talk about the student's academic goals.

It is also critical that nonmainstream and mainstream students see adults representing diverse populations in the school. Given the dire statistics regarding the diminishing pool of American minority teachers (Graham, 1987), teachers must invite adults who represent diverse population groups to visit the class and assist with the educational program. Scholars suggest that young African American males in particular need "touchable role models."

Activities at the middle school might include Grandparents' Day where students invite their grandparents or substitute to visit the school. At the secondary level, activities may be organized around content or disciplines. For example, teachers can organize panels to discuss open-ended topics such as the Great Depression, World War II, Malcolm X, John F. Kennedy, the Vietnam War, and famine and U.N. intervention in Somalia.

One way to encourage parental participation at this level is to invite parents to respond to open-ended questions. For example, when teaching ninth-grade American history I asked my students to interview their parents about the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s. After reading the interviews, I invited parents representing diverse groups to describe their experiences to the class.

Act Now

U.S. educators no longer have the luxury of waiting to develop new and innovative techniques that address the pressing needs of minority students. We must act now to tackle these concerns. Using time-honored techniques and sensitive strategies from a culturally aware perspective provides one way to approach the problems. Although we have no panacea and must continually expand our knowledge base, the seven strategies discussed here offer a basis for taking a proactive stance toward the problem of miseducating or undereducating whole generations of students from culturally varied backgrounds. We need to reach out to each other, to recognize and accord value to each other's cultures. We need a basic ingredient—the ability to respond to each other in the teaching and learning enterprise.

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Discourse Diversity: Principles for Authentic Talk and Literacy Instruction

John G. Barnitz

We have become aware that each classroom is a community, and that discourse is at its heart. It is discourse that connects people, that enables them to negotiate meaning in a situation or from a text, that enables a teacher to lead a class in new directions. Since discourse always involves more than one person, each brings to the encounter his or her own patterns of discourse, learned in the family and community, and further expanded by every exchange. The teacher, then, makes use of this resource, helping learners to meld and build upon their learned discourse patterns and to develop a fuller command of the language being used in the classroom in preparation for later use in the wider world.

Classroom communities in today's linguistically diverse schools reflect culturally rich societies. For teachers this means learning to make use of a perhaps unexpected abundance—what learners bring to classrooms with their culturally unique knowledge and discourse that teachers can use in effective learning situations.

What helps the teacher most in such a class is an awareness of authentic sociolinguistic diversity, of different forms and uses of language that reflect cultural background. A teacher's positive attitude toward each student's diversity supports the student in further learning. Student success in acquiring and using literacy grows out of culturally authentic talk surrounding literacy events at home and at school.

This article is designed to help teachers develop an awareness of discourse diversity in classroom talk, create authentic literacy lessons based on principles of instruction involving classroom talk, and become acquainted with many useful references for expanding their professional knowledge about sociolinguistic variation and its role in teaching reading. This article first reviews

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selected studies on classroom discourse diversity, then summarizes principles for authentic talk in literacy instruction.

Discourse Variation in Cultural Contexts

Oral discourse, which is socially constructed, has important properties: It is functional (speakers use language to accomplish things), meaningfully organized (with patterns of idea networks), and unified (shows cohesion, coherence). Literacy, too, is socially constructed (Cook-Gumperz, 1986; Halliday, 1975; Vygotsky, 1978), which is why natural talking is a critical aspect of literacy activities for culturally diverse learners.

Cultural variation in talking can have a strong influence on literacy learning, as Au and Mason (1981) showed when they described how Hawaiian minority children used their own culturally acceptable conversational styles in literacy lessons. The Hawaiian learners improved their reading abilities only when teachers allowed collaborative and conversational discourse in reading lessons—authentic discussions about ideas in texts—rather than the traditional recitation and repetition of important information (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988).

However, while collaborative, conversational literacy lessons were successful with Hawaiian children, they were not successful with Navajo children learning to read (Vogt, Jordan, & Tharp, 1987). Classroom talk that is natural in one sociocultural context may not be natural in other contexts.

Learners use their natural discourse styles in their home talk and in classroom talk. When Michaels (1981) examined the narratives that urban children produced during sharing time in their classroom, she found differences in organization of ideas: African American children constructed their talk in terms of ideas associated with the topic, but European American children shared ideas centered more directly on the topic. (Other researchers, such as Hyon and Sulzby, 1992, have reported that African American children used both narrative frameworks in story retellings.) Oral discourse styles and patterns also transfer to the written texts children and teenagers produce, as Horowitz (in press, b) found in African-, Jewish-, and Hispanic American communities.

This persistence of discourse style suggests that learners need to construct meaning in their own natural way in transition to acquiring the fullest range of literate discourse that English or any language has to offer. Teachers must recognize differences as manifestations of cultural discourse, which can be expanded rather than interrupted or suppressed.

McCollum (1991) found striking differences when she made cross-cultural comparisons of discourse patterns in a third-grade classroom in the United States and one in Puerto Rico. The predominant discourse in the U.S. classroom involved turn taking controlled by the teacher, who called on each student to respond. In the Puerto Rican classroom, the teacher allowed students more opportunities to express themselves in lessons involving "instructional conversations," consistent with a model of teaching as "assisting literacy performance" (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988). The teacher incorporated more collaborative feedback and modeling, language expansion and elaborations of student responses, and more functional questioning—all of which supported learning more effectively than traditional question-recitation routines.

Teachers do need to be aware of the influence of their students' culture. Robisheaux (1993) described how Hispanic students who have successfully completed a program in English as a Second Language can fail in the regular classroom not because of a language barrier but because their non-Hispanic teachers were not aware of important cultural differences.

Teachers can expand their own sociolinguistic awareness by studying some of the published research on cultural variations of family narratives, question-answer and bedtime story routines, and other language-learning child-rearing practices of urban and rural communities (Heath, 1983; Kochman, 1981; Labov, 1972; Ward, 1971). English-speaking teachers can also benefit from exposure to English discourse variation around the world (Kachru, 1992). Both teachers and teenagers need to become aware of the complexities of discourse in relationships at school and home (see Cazden, 1988; Heath, 1983; Horowitz, in press, a; Tannen, 1986). With an understanding of cultural diversity in discourse, teachers can design authentic literacy events.

Principles for Using Authentic Talk and Literacy Instruction

According to Edelsky (1986, p. 170), authentic literacy events must meet several conditions: Learners must construct meaning through transactions with natural texts. They must use all language systems (graphic, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic) in processing texts. They must use predicting and confirming strategies in reading as well as composing strategies in writing.

In essence, authentic assignments and literacy strategies must allow students to use meaningful functional oral and written language. This language must be supported by other thinkers and talkers in the classroom reflecting the sociocultural context (Freeman & Freeman, 1992; Kucer, 1991; Myers, 1992).

With authenticity in mind, what are some principles for incorporating talk into literacy instruction in culturally diverse classrooms?

Build classroom communities in which functional discourse is encouraged.

Developing communicative competence in classroom communities requires managing the physical and social environment so that four types of authentic discourse may occur: thought discourse, fact discourse, sharing discourse, and fun discourse (Enright & McCloskey, 1988). Literacy events are authentic when teachers capitalize on discourse interaction in community-structured classrooms in which literacy is functional.

Teachers can encourage functional dialogue through dialogue journals. These are written conversations between teachers and students or students and students. The journals should facilitate the language growth of native and nonnative English speakers (Peyton & Reed, 1990; Staton, Shuy, Peyton, & Reed, 1988).

Lindfors (1989) reported a wide range of communicative functions represented in the dialogue journal writing of adolescent Zulu-English speakers in South Africa. These young adults used writing to teach, inquire, joke, inform, scold, offer, seek clarification, compliment, apologize, explain, express opinions, make conversational comments, express thanks, comfort, and reflect.

Through dialogue, classroom participants can build social relationships, model good oral and written discourse strategies, expand background knowledge, and lead each other to elaborate on ideas, rather than focus only on specific reading and writing skills. Literacy functions and skills can be acquired naturally through the social dialogue process in classroom communities.

Use authentic texts from the students' cultural environment.

Teachers may use various creative texts to develop students' knowledge of culture and language.

Cross-cultural literature is a rich source of authentic reading for developing students' multicultural awareness and authentic discourse literacy (Au, 1993). Good literature leads in a variety of ways to natural social interaction that encourages talk about text. For example, teachers can use literature for Readers Theatre, role playing, creative dramatics, or choral speaking for real audiences in social classroom events. Learner-centered conversations about interesting ideas in literature facilitate continued literacy advancement. Engaging students in talking about literature promotes acquisition of school language and discourse (Allen, 1989; Tompkins & McGee, 1981).

In addition to literature, a wide variety of materials from everyday living can be used in literacy activities. Menus from ethnic restaurants can be used for learning about ethnic foods as well as the social interchanges involved in ordering meals. Health care discourse can be learned while using brochures from hospitals and clinics. Discourse about buying and selling cars can be learned by role playing business transactions based on knowledge gained from reading brochures from auto dealerships. Students learning to fill out all types of forms should be supported by the social talk that accompanies interpreting and processing forms.

Newspapers can also be a varied source for talking about the world, national, state, and local events and human interest features.

Use instructional strategies that incorporate authentic talk in the reading-writing process.

Immigrants and other students whose first language is not that of the classroom are able to compose and comprehend even though they do not have full control of the target language's structures (Goodman & Goodman, 1978; Hudelson, 1989). Both first- and second-language learners can acquire literacy when instructional strategies focus on process rather than on language structures alone. Many effective instructional strategies use culturally diverse authentic talk to support literacy: the experience-text-relationship method (Au, 1979), the Language Experience Approach (well explained by Rigg, 1989), and reciprocal teaching and other collaborative learning strategies (Palincsar & David, 1991).

Language skills can be learned in the context of talk about revision of student texts in writing conferences (Farr & Daniels, 1986; Hudelson, 1989) and talk about ideas in reading conferences (Gunderson, 1991). Linguistic structures can be taught in the context of process-oriented strategies.

For more on theory and practice in second-language reading, see Barnitz (1985), Bernhardt (1991), and Carrell, Devine, and Eskey (1988).

Incorporate cross-cultural discourse schemata into authentic literacy instruction.

Cultural variation in background knowledge influences reading performance and must be considered in literacy instruction. Those who read texts that are not culturally familiar often read slower, miscomprehend, have more irrelevant intrusions, and make fewer elaborations than those who read culturally familiar texts (Barnitz, 1986; Carrell et al., 1988; Steffensen, 1987).

While learners bring their culturally diverse talk to learning to read and write, they also bring their culturally specific written styles and forms (Kaplan, 1987; Leki, 1991), which must not be overlooked in reading theory and instruction (see Barnitz, 1986). English prose tends to be linear and hierarchical, but prose in other languages and cultures may be more tolerant of circularity of discussion as well as digressions (Kaplan, 1987).

Instructional strategies, such as the experience-text-relationship method and the Language Experience Approach, are particularly sensitive to students' cultural schemata in aiding learners to connect their cultural worlds with the texts. Through much conversation about the ideas in the students' minds and those represented in the text, teachers guide learners in composing and comprehending written discourse.

Encourage cross-age interaction in schools, families, and community organizations.

Current literacy programs sometimes involve talking across ages in schools and families. Heath and Mangiola (1991) described a cross-age project in which fifth-grade ESL children tutored first graders. The older children also met with each other and team leaders to reflect and talk about their field notes and observations. These "children of promise" developed "literate behaviors" and discourse competence which contributed to their academic success.

Juel (1991) reported a program in which university athletes tutored at-risk children. Using self-selected novels, talk, and extensive writing in response journals, the children developed their literacy.

Quintero and Huerta-Macias (1990) described a program which enhanced literacy and biliteracy of both parents and children. Bilingual family literacy was strengthened by parent involvement, code switching between two languages, and whole language-oriented strategies. Edwards (1989) was successful in teaching parents in a lower socioeconomic rural community to develop their children's literacy with literature and talking about books.

In addition, community agencies offer abundant opportunities for language and literacy growth because agency activities involve authentic talk (see Heath, 1993; Horowitz, in press, b).

Assess literacy with authentic literacy tasks and texts.

Assessment of literacy performance and ability is more accurate if the tasks are authentic and conform to nontest contexts (Bachman, 1992). In a culturally diverse society, Garcia and Pearson (1991) support authentic literacy assessment based on several criteria: (1) Literacy assessment must include constructive reading and writing tasks that demonstrate learners' actual performance; (2) assessment should emphasize what students can and cannot do alone and with assistance from adults and peers on a variety of tasks reflecting students' interests and background knowledge; (3) variations in students' interpretations need to be acknowledged—cultural diversity is an advantage, rather than a disadvantage to be penalized; and (4) members of the school and home community should be involved in literacy assessment.

In essence, discourse diversity and authentic talk must be considered in literacy assessment.

Conclusion

Authentic discourse, however diverse, can be supportive of literacy development. Learners cannot use or activate what they know about language and cultural knowledge if there is little social context. People in the real world interact socially in most literacy events. Authentic talk supports literacy because learners use the verbal cues from the entire text and situational context to assist them in constructing meaning.

Authenticity is a necessary condition for learners to be successful in developing literacy, but authenticity alone does not necessarily guarantee acquisition of literacy. Many learners will need specific language and literacy skill instruction, which can be embedded in authentic literacy activities.

With a solid knowledge base of sociolinguistic variation as represented in many of the references provided here, and with positive attitudes toward culturally diverse students, teachers can make decisions to design authentic literacy events in their multicultural classrooms. When teachers develop authentic literacy activities in their classrooms, there is a greater probability that all learners will acquire the widest range of discourse for literacy.

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Educating African American Learners At Risk: Finding a Better Way

Dorothy S. Strickland

Even before they enter school, at least one third of the nation's children are at risk for school failure. The deck is stacked against them, not because of anything they have done or failed to do. Most of these youngsters live in poverty, and they are members of a minority group. A large proportion of them are African American. The fact that they are poor is the key reason they are at risk for failure. Indeed, children from middle-class black families academically outperform poor children, regardless of ethnicity (Hodgkinson, 1991). Although education cannot solve all the societal problems that poor, African American children face, it remains an important and powerful weapon against poverty and crime. It is becoming increasingly obvious that whether or not these children become literate has a profound effect on all our lives. For these children, the successful application of what is known about the teaching and learning of literacy is of critical importance. In this article, I bring that knowledge together with my very deep concern for a group of children who are in desperate need of our help.

New Trends in Literacy Instruction

Throughout the United States, teachers and administrators are thoughtfully reexamining the assumptions underlying their literacy programs. Dramatic changes have taken place in many individual classrooms and schools. In some cases massive reforms have been initiated across entire school districts. The changes appear under the heading of various holistic and process-oriented terms such as literature-based curriculum, integrated language arts, language across the curriculum, whole language, and emergent literacy (Allen & Mason, 1989; Cazden, 1992;

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Edelsky, Altwerger, & Flores, 1991; Hiebert, 1991). Among the changes in evidence are:

Increased attention to writing and its relationship to reading. Students in these classrooms write every day. The writing does not stem from a series of teacher-based assignments to be collected, corrected, and returned. Rather, it is grounded in the ongoing activities of the classroom and the interests of individual students. Students are helped to see their writing through the entire process of prewriting, drafting, revising, editing, and publishing (Fornan, Lapp, & Flood, 1992; Jensen, 1993; Shanahan, 1990).

Greater use of trade books or library books rather than the more traditional reliance on textbooks. Children in these classrooms read and are read to every day. Sharing and responding to literature are fundamental to all aspects of the curriculum. The reading aloud continues long after children are fluent, independent readers. Textbooks remain important as *one* of many resources for learning literacy and learning through literacy. Response to literature takes many forms: personal reflection, group discussions, writing, art, and drama may act as a means of reformulating children's understanding and interpretations of texts. Poems, stories, and informational texts are discussed in terms of their content, their literary qualities, and the art of writing. Students are encouraged to apply what they learn about the author's craft to their own writing (Cullinan, 1992; Huck, 1992; Norton, 1992).

Greater student choice in what they read and write in the classroom. Teachers encourage children to share in the decision making regarding choice of topics to write about and materials to read. Making thoughtful selections and decisions is considered to be a valuable part of students' literacy development (Calkins, 1986; Cambourne, 1987; Wells, 1986).

Greater integration of oral language and literacy across all subjects in the curriculum. Literacy learning is viewed as a key element of every aspect of the curriculum. Reading, writing, speaking, listening, and reasoning are integral to every subject throughout the day (Lipson, Valencia, Wixson, & Peters, 1993; Pappas, Ouler, Barry, & Rassel, 1993).

Dissenting Voices

These ideas and their applications are continually gaining acceptance and applicability where mainstream, "typical" learners predominate. There is disagreement, however, about how these principles and practices might relate to more diverse populations. Some educators have expressed their concern about the effect of holistic practices on the reading and writing achievement of learners considered to be at risk for school failure, particularly when those learners are black.

Lisa Delpit (1988), a prominent African American educator, has complained about the lack of a display of power and authority in process-oriented classrooms: "The teacher has denied them access to herself as the source of knowledge necessary to learn the forms they need to succeed" (p. 288). She stresses the need for teachers to be explicit, "both with what you're trying to communicate and why that information is important to the task at hand" (Teale, 1991, p. 541), particularly when they are teaching across cultures, as is often the case in schools where African American children are prevalent.

Others have questioned the value of holistic approaches to any learners considered to be at risk for failure in school. When questioned by *The Washington Post* regarding practices associated with young children's emergent literacy and the whole language approach, Jeanne Chall of Harvard University responded: "...the new approach is particularly harmful for below-average children or children at risk of failure because of poverty or learning problems" (1991, p. A16). More recently, Chall expressed similar concerns, directing them specifically at what she perceives to be a lack of appropriate phonics instruction in programs that engage in holistic approaches. Once again, she is concerned for "especially those who are at risk" (Willis, 1993, p. 8).

Still others express concern about the change process itself. Walter MacGinitie (1991) warns that advocates of holistic approaches are doomed to repeat the failures of the past if they are not more specific in their descriptions of what they propose. "Those who seriously wish to improve education must do more than describe a classroom atmosphere; they must describe how that atmosphere can be achieved and maintained and how people function within it" (p. 57).

Each of these individuals is a highly respected scholar whose words require serious consideration. Perhaps even more importantly, their concerns are shared by many well-intentioned, caring parents and teachers of African American children. Unfortunately, when these views are expressed by those less well informed or less well intentioned, two very fundamental but faulty assumptions often underlie them. One is rooted in learning; the other in teaching.

First, there is widespread belief, whether tacit or explicit, that African American children are inherently less capable than most other learners. Indeed, many black children are at risk for failure. But, the risk is neither inevitable nor inherent (Heath, 1983; Shepard, 1991). Second, the traditional view of "teacher as source of knowledge and power" remains highly prevalent, not only among the general public, but among many educators as well. Effective teachers are far more than repositories and dispensers of information. Their primary goal is to help children become independent learners. They share power in order to empower. Even Delpit (1988) concedes that, "The teacher cannot be the only expert in the classroom. To deny students their own expert knowledge is to disempower them" (p. 288).

Effective teachers also regard the direct instruction of strategies (with their attendant underlying skills) as fundamental to the "new" approaches outlined above. At the same time, however, they reject instruction that relies heavily on merely transmitting, "explicitly," a body of information from a single viewpoint or relaying only one way to solve a problem or address an issue. While such instruction may be explicit and clear, it risks denying the strengths that diverse views and cultural frameworks bring to the classroom. Moreover, effective teachers take care not to reduce explicit teaching merely to "telling." They know that modeling and demonstrating are key to being explicit (Duffy, Roehler, & Rackliffe, 1986).

Still, it behooves those of us who espouse new approaches to heed MacGinitie's admonition to be clear about what we advocate and to relate new practice to the many traditional practices that should be preserved. Indeed, Chall's concerns may be well founded in classrooms where basic principles of holistic education are not well understood and only in evidence at a superficial level. Fortunately, there is a growing body of literature written, not only by university theorists and researchers, but also by classroom teachers and teacher-researchers, in which classroom environments and practices are explicitly described and related to theory (see Atwell, 1987; Chew, 1991; Feeley, Strickland, & Wepner, 1991; Routman, 1991, among others).

It is not surprising that some are skeptical about the new approaches to helping children learn literacy. For many educators, shifting to a new paradigm or to a new way of thinking is difficult under any circumstances. It may be virtually impossible when old ideas are tenaciously held, regardless of new evidence. For others, the reservations are guided by a healthy and informed skepticism. Their expressions of concern should be welcomed and reflected upon by all those working to help African American children become literate. They serve as a reminder of the constant need to reexamine our changing beliefs and practice.

Basic Skills: Pros and Cons

In the past, the educational problems of at-risk African American children have received a great deal of attention. The Johnson era brought about widespread attempts at school reform. Most of the resulting efforts were characterized by highly structured, isolated skills instruction in reading, with little or no attention given at all to instruction in writing. In schools where low student achievement was persistent, the emphasis was placed on increasing test scores in reading and math; for the most part, that focus remains today (Strickland & Ascher, 1992).

Oddly enough, the initiation of these "basic skills" reforms had a positive side. Applied skillfully, the conventional ways of responding to the educationally disadvantaged did improve student performance on standardized tests. This was especially true in the elementary grades. It demonstrated that when schools rallied around a common purpose, were goal oriented, and were given explicit help to achieve those goals, students would learn what was taught. For some, it may have been the first real evidence that these students were capable of learning. This proved to be a morale builder for students and teachers alike. When administrators and teachers saw their efforts pay off, the felt good about themselves and their clients—the students they served. And, the community also felt a sense of pride (Knapp & Turnbull, 1990).

There was also an ominous and negative side to this, however. As the definition of what it means to be literate in our society becomes more demanding and more complex, the constraints of this type of teaching become increasingly evident. Teaching to low-level, basic skills apparently places an unintended ceiling on learning. Those rising test scores, the pride of a school district, begin to level off, and children actually appear to stop learning. In an effort to increase test scores at any cost, many schools may spend excessive amounts of time and effort aligning curriculum to test and valuable instructional time teaching directly to the test. Focusing so much attention on tests and so little on true instructional reform tends to yield benefits that are both limited and temporary (Darling-Hammond, 1993b; Shepard, 1991).

The really important message in all this, however, lies well beyond what the test scores reveal. When students are repeatedly served a diet of low-level, impoverished basics, they accumulate a kind of knowledge that is neither empowering nor self-improving. Students may conscientiously take in the information dispensed to them, and they may spout it back on cue. But, they are frequently left not knowing how to use that information, how to learn on their own, to think for themselves, solve problems, and critique their own work and the work of others.

A Better Way

Fortunately, some promising instructional alternatives exist. Building on the work of previous researchers, contemporary investigators have broken fresh ground to create new paradigms for the way we view children's literacy development and the way adults can best help them learn. Much of what has been learned applies to all children regardless of race or socioeconomic level. Several major principles seem to stand out regardless of the learner variables present. Whether the learners be high achieving or at risk, inner-city poor or affluent suburban, second language or native speakers, certain learner characteristics are maintained.

Literacy Learning Starts Early and Continues Throughout Life

(Goodman & Goodman, 1979; Harste, Woodward, & Burke, 1984; Teale & Sulzby, 1986).

African American children deserve early literacy programs that are framed from an emergent literacy perspective. Such programs would capitalize on the fact that, like all other children, African American children enter school eager to learn and to please the responsive adults around them. They are aware of the print in their environment: their names, the names of siblings, the logos and slogans from fast-food restaurants, and various other signs representing environmental print.

Recommendations:

1. Avoid readiness tests that screen children out. Implement instructional strategies and systematic observational techniques that allow children to demonstrate what they do know. Use what is learned to build their linguistic awareness and expand their knowledge about the world.
2. Create learning environments that give children confidence that they can learn and let them know *by your actions* that you believe they can learn.
3. Initiate family literacy programs in which adults and children approach literacy learning as a cooperative social experience. At the very least, such programs would make books and other materials available to parents for reading to and with their children.
4. Seek out information from parents about their perceptions of their children as learners and their educational goals and concerns as a family. Let parents know you value whatever literacy experiences they give to their children. View home and school as making different but interdependent contributions to the child's total education.
5. Start coordinated school and social service intervention programs early and make them ongoing. The purpose should be to prevent failure and promote accelerated achievement rather than merely to remediate problems.
6. Treat instruction in phonics as an important part of beginning reading and writing, but not a precursor to it. View phonics for what it is—one of several enablers (including word meanings and sentence structures) to success in literacy. Nothing more! Nothing less! Allow neither students nor their parents to think they are receiving instruction in reading when they are merely receiving instruction in phonics. Emphasize sound-symbol relationships during the reading of interesting, predictable texts and during writing through children's own attempts at spelling.

Literacy Learning Is Used to Make Meanings Out of Our World

(Donaldson, 1978; Smith, 1982; Wells, 1986).

African American children deserve literacy programs that stress the construction of meaning right from the start. As with every other aspect of their learning, these young children are attempting to make sense of the world around them. Print is simply one of the many curiosities in the world about which they are eager to learn.

Recommendations:

1. Take care to see to it that the tasks students are given make sense to them. Keep in mind that low-level, rote tasks tend to make less sense than tasks that require reasoning and reflective thought (Resnick, 1987).
2. Select instructional materials that employ whole texts, including a wide variety of fiction and nonfiction. Avoid meaningless drills on isolated skills delivered in the form of workbooks and worksheets.
3. Integrate instruction in the language arts so that students connect learning how to spell with proofreading a composition, expanding their vocabularies with comprehending stories and informational books, authoring and responding with what they do as writers and readers, and so on.
4. Foster inquiry-based curricula, in which individuals and groups of children pose ques-

tions and seek to answer them. Allow the teaching of literacy to be largely driven by needs arising from the content and questions that children are curious about—for example, learning how to conduct a good interview during the study of personal health in order to learn what nurses do. Even when content foci are preset by a fixed curriculum, independence and motivation can be fostered by allowing children to pose their own questions within the sphere of the content they are required to study.

Literacy Learning Takes Place Through Active Involvement and Use

(Lindfors, 1987; Wells, 1986).

African American children deserve literacy programs that recognize that knowledge is not merely an accumulation of assorted facts absorbed like a sponge. Knowledge is constructed by active minds and grounded in life experience.

Recommendations:

1. Plan instructional activities that involve children in a high degree of critical thinking and problem solving. For example, postreading activities based on student-generated questions and observations related to key ideas in a text are more likely to stimulate active response and involvement than those that simply require students to answer a preset list of teacher-generated questions.
2. Help students use talk as a means of mediating what they are attempting to understand. Engage students in literature study groups, collaborative group discussions, partner activities, and research groups. Rather than attempting to keep students quiet, plan activities where talk is channeled and used along with reading and writing as a tool for learning.
3. Employ collaborative group learning strategies and peer teaching methods to promote active learners. Approaches that emphasize the fact that everyone in the classroom is both a teacher and a learner help increase student involvement and tend to promote active learning.
4. Keep instruction as close to the point of use as possible. Expand the definition of direct instruction to go beyond conveying information to an entire group of students in a preordered way. Include the demonstration of strategies for individuals and groups of students that they actually need to complete a given task. Both the how and the why of a strategy are made explicit when the need is clearly understood.

Literacy Learning Is Influenced by One's Language and Cultural Background

African American children deserve literacy programs that build on and expand their language and culture with a view toward helping them understand and value their heritage and respect the heritage of others. They deserve teachers and administrators who value diversity and recognize its presence in every child (Au, 1993).

Recommendations:

1. Never use a child's dialect, language, or culture as a basis for making judgments regarding intellect or capability. Competence is not tied to a particular language, dialect, or culture.
2. Learn as much as you can about students' language and cultural backgrounds. Avoid making sweeping generalizations based on skin color or surnames. There is a high degree of variability within every cultural group. Learn as much as you can; then keep an open mind.

3. Give students literature that reflects a wide diversity of cultures. Take special care to see to it that African American children are familiar with literature by and about African Americans as well as with the writers and illustrators themselves.
4. Encourage standard English through exposure to a variety of oral and written texts and oral language activities. Keep in mind that while competence in standard English is a worthy goal for all children, it must not mean a rejection or replacement of one language and culture with another. Rather, it should be viewed as language expansion and enrichment of the students' home language to include standard English, giving them the opportunity and the *choice* to communicate with a broader speech community (Galda, Cullinan, & Strickland, 1993).

Literacy Learning Is Influenced by Social Context

(Cazden, 1992; Moll, 1990; Scribner & Cole, 1981).

African American children deserve opportunities to learn in contexts that reflect what is known about the social nature of literacy and literacy learning. This requires administrators and teachers who know how to establish supportive and responsive contexts for learning. According to Darling-Hammond (1993a), "the problems of equity are constrained by the availability of talented teachers, by the knowledge and capacities those teachers possess, and by the school conditions that define how that knowledge an be used" (p. 754).

Recommendations:

1. Foster a sense of community and interconnectedness within each classroom and throughout each school. Keep schools and classes small enough, or divide them into manageable units, so that individual students feel known and recognized as participants in a community, and closer student-teacher relationships are more likely to develop.
2. Avoid long-term ability grouping and tracking. These deny equitable access to learning opportunities (Epstein, 1985; Oakes, 1985). Seek alternatives such as flexible grouping practices, which may include some short-term ability grouping and cooperative learning instructional methods that treat diversity as a valued resource.
3. Create large, uninterrupted blocks of time for language arts instruction, during which no children leave the classroom for special activities. Short time periods lead to a one-size-fits-all instruction, in which every student is assigned precisely the same tasks and given the same amount of instructional support and time to complete them. Large time frames foster integrated learning and allow for differentiated instruction, thus fostering true educational equity.
4. Give incentives to attract the very best teachers available and provide ongoing professional development focused on empowering teachers to make instructional decisions. Emphasize classroom observation—how to assess what students are learning and use it to plan accordingly.
5. Encourage ongoing professional development such as teacher networks that operate as voluntary support groups. Professional networks allow teachers to organize their own staff development efforts so that ideas close to the classroom may be discussed in a risk-free atmosphere of mutual support. Avoid placing all resources in one-shot staff development days, and be wary of intensive "training" programs on narrowly constructed, highly prescriptive models of instruction.

Conclusion

For most educators, the ideas offered here are neither new nor revolutionary. In fact, some would argue that these suggestions are appropriate for any child, regardless of ethnicity, socioeconomic status, or intellect. And, that is precisely the point. We now know enough about the learning and teaching of language and literacy to offer some basic principles to guide instructional decision making for the education of every child. Perhaps the greatest value of these principles and recommendations is that they are learner centered and thus adapt to and support all learners, no matter who they are.

Teachers who work with large numbers of African American children in situations where failure is chronic may wonder how these ideas will help them deal with diversity. Having placed so much emphasis on how their students are different from others, they may be confused by the suggestion that there are "universal" principles of learning and teaching from which all children may benefit. They want advice specific to the needs of the children they teach. This is highly understandable. Yet, these teachers should know that the ideas offered here are not meant to suggest a one-size-fits-all curriculum. They in no way negate the fact that there are great differences among the children we teach. Respecting and building on these differences is an important part of what good teachers do. The differences we face in schools, however, go far beyond those distinctions commonly made *between* various ethnic groups. There are important differences among children *within* ethnic groups and linguistic communities, even among those who live at the poverty level. These include children's interests, experiential backgrounds, abilities, and motivation. These differences may be overlooked by teachers who come to the teaching situation with preconceived ideas about how certain children learn and behave. Moreover, when the curriculum fails to value each learner's unique background, there is a risk that important individual characteristics may never be revealed as potential building blocks for instruction.

Dawn Harris Martine, a second-grade teacher in Harlem, once told me that she could trace at least a dozen different national origins among her group of 26 children. More than half her students had very recent roots in several countries in Africa, the Caribbean, and Central America, as well as various parts of the United States. Yet, she said, to most people they simply look like any other group of African American kids. To Dawn, the differences were very important and helped shape the curriculum and the ways in which she interacted with each child.

What then should teachers know that is specific to these youngsters? Teachers who work with these children should enter the classroom informed as much as possible about the broader population from which these children come—both from reading the relevant literature and from firsthand experiences with others who belong to that population. They should also learn as much as they can about the immediate community and the families of these children. They should use what they learn as a framework for understanding who and where their learners are. At the same time, they should use the principles described here to develop a literacy curriculum that is both rigorous and learner centered. Most importantly, they should avoid assigning preconceived characteristics and attributes to any child, bearing in mind the need to suspend judgment and respect each as an individual.

Irving Harris (1993), a philanthropist and child advocate, recounts a parable about some people picnicking beside a river. Suddenly, they see an enormous number of babies being carried down the river by the current. Their first impulse is to jump in and pull out as many of the babies as possible. But they keep coming, and the rescuers can't save them all. Finally, someone is smart enough to run up the river to see who is pushing them in (p. 30).

As teachers of the language arts, we sometimes feel like those rescuers—attempting to "save the children" despite overwhelming forces beyond our control. Indeed, the responsibility for helping African American students, or any other students who are at risk for educational failure, is not ours alone. The problems are serious and demand the attention of everyone—the home, the school, and the community.

Nevertheless, there is a great deal that we *can* do. We can work as individuals and within professional and civic organizations to effect social policy change; and we can work with students and their parents to achieve better mutual support between home and school. Most importantly, we can take advantage of a growing body of research that suggests better educational policy and more comprehensive and meaningful approaches to raising the academic achievement of African American students. The knowledge is available. It is time we demonstrated the commitment to seek a better way.

Author Notes

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Helping the Nonnative English Speaker With Reading

Christine Sutton

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Children in the elementary grades can encounter difficulties in reading for reasons as varied as the children themselves. Those whose native language is not English often have problems when reading in English. This is no surprise; yet the response to these reading difficulties frequently is to overlook the obvious and to place the students in remediation classes designed for native English speakers, whose reading problems usually have different causes.

It may take as long as 5 to 7 years for limited English speaking students to gain the command of English needed for them to perform successfully in academic areas (Collier, 1987; Cummins, 1984). The barriers to their effective communication and comprehension, particularly in tasks involving reading and writing, are sometimes hidden by their relatively quicker acquisition of conversational language and mastery of decoding skills in reading. Thus students who *appear* to have command of English may in fact be struggling to communicate and find meaning when faced with academic settings and tasks that are decontextualized and cognitively demanding (Chamot & O'Malley, 1986).

As students reach the upper elementary grades, the cognitive and linguistic demands they face in reading become increasingly challenging. Teachers can help their limited English proficient (LEP) students deal with these complex demands and make greater sense of what they read in several ways.

Four Crucial Areas

It is helpful to think of reading as a multifaceted developmental process in which the successful student learns to make those connections that link language, print, and thought

(Smith, 1982; Thonis, 1981). Here, the term *thought* includes the student's conceptual framework, which has been shaped by experience, education, and culture. In order to comprehend messages encoded in print, the reader must bring to the text not only the decoding skills required to "crack" the code, but also the language facility, conceptual framework, and thinking abilities needed to understand the message.

Thus, the effective teacher addresses all four areas important to reading comprehension—decoding skills, language development and competence, concept and context building, and critical thinking skills and strategies.

Word Recognition

For second language learners, oral language acquisition comes through the use of language *in context* (Krashen, 1981; Krashen & Terrell, 1983). Focusing on contextualized language is important in reading development as well (Hudelson, 1984; Krashen, 1981; Thonis, 1981). Students even in the early stages of acquiring English can identify and understand many forms of environmental print (e.g., *men/women*, *Burger King*, *EXIT*). The teacher can build upon the students' ability to recognize words in context by integrating print into the classroom environment as well.

- Label items, locations, and activities in the room, on bulletin boards, and on display tables.
- Write directions, schedules, calendar information, names, and work duties on the board and refer to them as the information is discussed orally.
- Use language experience activities to describe events in the classroom. These can be the basis for developing sentence strips and student books (Feeley, 1983).
- Include simple reading-writing activities for beginning-level students as reinforcement for language practiced orally. Include copying of language experience information, penmanship, dictation, labeling, vocabulary matching activities, word puzzles, and following simple directions.
- Write down familiar dialogues and stories; have students practice reading them as creative dramatics, choral reading, role plays, and interviews.
- Have students identify words they would like to know in print. This key word approach to the development of sight-word vocabulary has been quite effective with LEP learners (Hudelson, 1984).
- Provide students with a place to keep track of important words (e.g., a notebook or word cards). The students can use a combination of cues to remember meaning: English words plus a picture for definition; English words and native language definition or equivalent.

A discussion on word recognition instruction requires a word about phonics in developing reading competence. Certainly students need to be aware of the grapheme-phoneme connection that ties reading text to oral language and is at the heart of a phonics approach to reading instruction. However, there are some cautions that should be observed when the students are not native English speakers.

- English is not a phonetically consistent language, particularly with respect to vowels. In the words *women* and *fish*, for example, the sounds represented by the first vowel of each word are identical. English is replete with examples of phonetic irregularities that can confuse the LEP student.
- It is sometimes difficult for LEP students to differentiate sound variations in English, especially if such distinctions do not exist in

the native language. It is more difficult still for the student to produce such sound differences in the early stages of language acquisition.

- Phonics drills, like any language drill, may focus on such a narrow aspect of the language process that the total message gets lost. Phonics instruction integrated with other approaches can help students decode print in context.

Language Competence

In the process of acquiring a second language, children develop competence by using the language for real communication (Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982). Exposure to whole language activities that integrate listening, speaking, reading, and writing and involve students in interactive communication and experiential learning promote purposeful language use that leads to language acquisition.

With respect to reading, there are several things the teacher can do to produce a rich language environment in the classroom.

- Incorporate the Language Experience Approach (LEA) into reading and writing instruction. LEA draws upon both the knowledge and language base of the students and integrates print activities naturally into language development. (For a more detailed description of the use of language experience activities with LEP students, see Coady, 1981; Feeley, 1979, 1983; Moustafa & Penrose, 1985.)
- Expose students to a wide variety of materials written in different styles. Include quality works in their entirety. Read aloud to student often so that they experience the flow of oral language as well. Select well illustrated texts on topics that are familiar and interesting to the students.
- Incorporate dramatics, role playing, and dialogues based on scripts that are familiar orally. Such activities provide a ready bridge between oral and print forms of the language.
- Use reading for enjoyment. Include lyrics to familiar music, poetry, riddles, jokes, groups poems, choral readings, plays, call and response chants (such as *Jazz Chants for Children* by Carolyn Graham, New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).
- Provide experiences in which language is greatly contextualized (e.g., a field trip, a science experiment, role playing, planning a class party, solving a puzzle). Use print materials with these activities as a natural extension of the oral language generated: write a class language experience report about the field trip; record information on a science chart; write dialogues or captions for a set of pictures; make lists of party items needed; follow written directions to find a hidden treasure.
- Introduce interactive writing experiences such as pen pal letters or teacher-student dialogue journals to create text that is both interesting and motivating for the participants. Dialogue journals have been especially useful as sources of comprehensible language input and interesting reading materials for students (Peyton, 1986; Shuy, 1985; Staton, 1985).
- Provide reading materials that are well organized, clearly written, and contain illustrations, charts, and diagrams that are easily understood and supportive of the text. The student then can draw upon multiple cues for meaning.

Expanding Conceptual Framework

Many of us might find reading a textbook on astrophysics or working through the legal language of a contract to be difficult because of the style of writing, the specialized vocabulary, or the unfamiliar concepts presented. Likewise, we might miss the significance of a treatise on Daoism or a reference to the striking of a Hmong man by his prospective mother-in-law because the underlying cultural values and assumptions are foreign to us.

Any reader can have trouble comprehending a reading selection that is outside the realm of his or her experience and knowledge. For the limited English proficient student who is often learning a new culture, a new view of how individuals behave, and a new set of expectations in addition to learning a new language and academic content, the chances for miscommunication and lack of understanding multiply.

Any reading task runs the risk of being outside the realm of the reader's experience and knowledge framework unless care is taken to select materials that relate to the student's background and to help the student understand selections that contain unfamiliar vocabulary, information, or underlying cultural assumptions and values.

Research indicates that readers are better able to understand and remember print selections that reflect their cultural background (Andersson & Barnitz, 1984). Providing LEP students with reading materials that are culturally familiar should aid comprehension because the conceptual schemata needed to make sense of such selections are more likely to be in place. Plan to include in your reading program the following types of materials:

- Folk tales and stories from students' native cultures;
- Materials with familiar experiences, characters, and setting (e.g., selections about the student's country, climate, geography, pasttimes, health care, recipes, and holidays);
- Familiar values expressed in stories, folklore, maxims, and historical tales;
- Selections containing familiar lexical items such as food, shelter, clothing, tools, transportation, recreation, and other activities from the native culture (items should be presented in context with good illustrations and clearly written text);
- Language experience materials that students have produced individually or in groups to describe events and ideas that are important to them. These materials may be about either the native culture or the new one the student is absorbing.

When an LEP student faces a reading selection that is culturally unfamiliar (as most will be) the teacher can help the student develop a framework for comprehending the text through a variety of prereading and reading activities and strategies.

- Introduce unfamiliar vocabulary (in addition to words identified by the text developers). For example, many LEP students may lack a repertoire of multiple meaning for English words. Thus, use of the word *table* in a science text might be confusing. Similarly, a student who has not yet acquired the irregular past tense forms of verbs may not realize that *sit* and *sat* are related.
- Conduct prereading discussion of concepts important to understanding a selection. Present examples that could help students make the connection between these new concepts and ideas they already understand. For example, students might talk about their experience of moving to a new country before reading a social studies lesson on American pioneer life.
- Provide group assignments, allowing students to work with others to process text, discuss ideas, and complete a task that might be overwhelming if done alone. Each student might be asked to read one section of material and write one or two sentences

about it; the contributions of all can be combined into a longer report.

- Monitor student comprehension through use of questioning and having students talk about what they have read in their own words. For beginners the teacher may have to supply much of the language while the student responds nonverbally or with short answers.

Introducing Strategies

Good readers use many strategies and techniques to help themselves understand print texts of various types. LEP students can make use of these same tools if shown what they are and provided with ample opportunities to practice them.

- Help students establish a purpose for reading to direct their attention.
- Familiarize students with the layout and language of different types of reading materials (e.g., storybook, science text, drama, magazine article, telephone book, calendar of events); show students how to use chapter headings, charts, diagrams, illustrations, glossaries, summaries, bold type, and other text cues as tools for understanding reading selections.
- Incorporate learning strategies such as imaging, notetaking, integrating new information into existing knowledge framework, making word or idea associations, predicting, confirming, and questioning (Chamot & O'Malley, 1986).
- Demonstrate different kinds of reading techniques to be used in different reading situations such as scanning, skimming, reading for main idea, reading for details, rereading to confirm or clarify.
- Introduce summarizing, self-monitoring, recalling events in chronological order, retelling in one's own words, outlining, and the use of graphic organizers as pre- and postreading text management techniques.
- Provide "real" reading selections used in their appropriate contexts. LEP students frequently are placed in remedial reading classes and receive instruction designed for native English speaking remedial readers whose needs may differ significantly from theirs. Focusing on isolated word attack skills, overuse of phonics drills, or disjointed exercises may impede the integrative processes that link language, print, and thinking.
- Foster the higher-level thinking skills used by good readers:
  - — Introduce problem solving with selections that contain relatively simple language but which require students to process print in thoughtful ways. Example: Kim is taller than Mai but shorter than Lan. Write the names of the girls in order of height.
  - — Pose questions that invite students to analyze, make comparisons, predict, and draw conclusions, such as "Why did thus-and-so happen? How are *x* and *y* different? What do you think will happen next?"
  - — Increase the teacher wait time after questions to allow students time to process language and to think and reflect about what they have read.
  - — Have students create their own problem-solving tasks such as math word problems, word puzzles, riddles, and analogies.

By attending to the decoding skills, language development, concept expansion, and thinking processes that are all so critical to learning to read, the teacher can help the student whose English is limited become truly proficient.

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Getting Meaning From Print: Four Navajo Students

Diane M. DuBois

A longitudinal study of four Navajo children reading English showed that the youngsters did not know reading is supposed to make sense. They seemed to believe that the purpose of reading was to produce acceptable English grammar. How did they arrive at this conclusion?

Before attempting to answer this question, let me provide some background information on the children along with an explanation of how the study was conducted. The oral reading performance of the four children was examined twice, 2 years apart—two of them in Grade 2 and again in Grade 4, two of them in Grade 4 and again in Grade 6. The children are labeled bilingual because they speak both Navajo and English. A more accurate description is that they are members of two monolingual communities—Navajo outside the school, English while in school.

The children in this study attend a boarding school on the Navajo Reservation in northern Arizona. The school is operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The children live in dormitories away from their parents and attend school each day, where they are instructed in English.

The teachers of these children are non-Indian. They speak little or no Navajo. The language of instruction is English, and even though Navajo aides are present in the classrooms and can interpret when necessary, the children are expected to respond to instruction in English.

The materials used in the classroom are written in English. Except for a brief exposure to ESL (English as a Second Language) drills at the first-grade level, the children are expected to speak, read, and write in English from the time they enter school.

By looking at the oral reading performance of children at Grades 2, 4, and 6, it is possible to

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gain insights into the reading process. When these readers speak two languages and attend a school where they are confronted with a different culture, further insights can be gained. These insights should provide educators with ideas for formulating instructional goals based on the learners' needs.

How does one determine the learners' needs when the learners are bilingual and beginning to be bicultural? One way is to have them read aloud and retell stories without teacher assistance. The next section describes what these four Navajo readers did when they were asked to read an unfamiliar story orally and then retell it.

Collecting, Analyzing Information

The subjects in this study are learning to read English, not their native language, and as they attempt to understand the author's message, some problems arise, which may interfere with the reading process. One problem is syntax. As bilingual speakers, they are controlling two grammatical systems, English and Navajo. Therefore, while they are reading materials written in English, their knowledge of Navajo syntax may interfere with their understanding of the text. Another problem is cultural. If the experiences of the reader have been quite different from those of the author, it is difficult for the reader to understand the author's message.

Miscue analysis was the research tool employed in this study to examine reading performance. By analyzing the ways that the expected oral reading and the child's actual responses differ, it is possible to see how the reading process works (Goodman, 1973).

The children at each grade level read two stories, one from a basal text and one that was culturally relevant. Prior to reading, each child was told that she or he would read a story out loud and at the end of the reading would retell all that she or he could remember. Each story and retelling was audiotaped. The readings and retellings were then analyzed using the Goodman Taxonomy.

Results of the Study

The four children in this study read stories in English, not their native language. It is necessary, then, to examine the kinds of miscues they produced that were attributed to their native language's influence. It is also necessary to consider the children's reading performance according to the kinds of miscues they made, which (1) lost meaning and should have been corrected; (2) retained the grammar (syntax) of the text; and (3) retained the meaning (semantics) of the text. In addition, the results of the retellings were summarized.

When these youngsters are reading materials written in English, one can expect them to have problems with English phonology and syntax. The English word *had*, for example, when pronounced by a Navajo may sound like *hat*. Noun and verb inflections in English may be dropped because of a failure to hear or produce final consonant clusters (Saville, 1976). Some typical examples are:

Text:	Mrs. Duck *looked* here and there.
Child:	Mrs. Duck *look* here and there.
Text:	Are they circus *balloons*?
Child:	Are they circus *balloon*?

The miscues in the preceding examples are treated as language related miscues. This means that such miscues are considered to be fully acceptable according to the syntax and meaning of the text. The reader chooses to use his or her own dialect or language system when reading, and this does not damage the reader's attempt to reconstruct the author's message.

When the subjects read stories that were related to their cultural and experiential background, they tended to produce more native language miscues: Approximately 23% of their miscues were native language miscues on the culturally relevant stories as compared to only 14% for the basal text stories. One reason for this is that the more meaningful a story is to a reader, the more likely she or he is to feel at ease in the reading situation and use the language system with which she or he is most comfortable. Therefore, one could expect a higher production of language-related miscues on a story more relevant to a reader's own experience.

The production of native language or dialect miscues could be considered evidence of a reader's efficiency in reading. Another indication of efficiency is the correction of miscues. Ideally, miscues that lose or destroy meaning should be corrected. For example, this miscue produced by one of the Navajo readers loses meaning and should have been corrected:

Text:	If it *bothers* you to think of it as baby sitting....
Child:	If it *brothers* you to think of it as baby sitting....

When the children in this study produced unacceptable miscues such as the one above, they tended to try to correct them but often were unsuccessful. As a group, these children attempted to correct approximately 28% of their miscues. These correction rates are not relatively high but do show a tendency for the subjects to try to correct miscues.

Although correction of unacceptable miscues is an important indication of efficient reading, correction by itself does not indicate what kinds of miscues were or were not corrected. It is necessary, therefore, to consider the kinds of miscues the readers produced that affected the grammar (syntax) and meaning (semantics) of the text. The following are examples of this:

Text:	He is *called* Happy Joe.
Child:	He is *calling* Happy Joe.
Text:	Henry *didn't* have a pet.
Child:	Henry *did* have a pet.

The preceding examples show that the readers produced acceptable grammar, but the meaning of both sentences was changed a great deal.

The overall results show that these Navajo readers often are unsuccessful in correcting their miscues, and they make many syntactically acceptable miscues but few semantically acceptable miscues. Approximately 57% of their miscues were syntactically acceptable while only 32% were semantically acceptable. During the 2 years of the study, the children exhibited a growing control over English grammar. However, it appears that their control over syntax did not always help them get to meaning.

Semantic acceptability of miscues is one way to determine a reader's ongoing concern with the meaning of the text. Another way to determine a reader's understanding is through retelling. An unaided retelling is followed by open-ended questions which use the information provided by the child. The retellings are rated and a retelling score is assigned.

The children in this study read two kinds of stories, one from a basal text and one which was culturally relevant. The results of the retelling scores show that these readers were able to retell more of the culturally relevant stories than the basal text stories.

Implications for Instruction

Although it is interesting to examine the reading performance of Navajo children reading English, it is essential to relate such reading performance to instruction.

When teachers work with bilingual children, they can expect them to make changes in reading that are caused by the readers' use of two grammatical systems. The loss of *-ed* endings, for example, should not be treated as a problem that needs to be corrected. Rather, it should be viewed as a reader strength because it does not damage the reader's attempt to reconstruct the author's message. To expand on this point, the Navajo readers in this study produced miscues that resulted in a use of a double *-ed* ending. Miscues such as *lookeded* and *talkeded* were discovered. Such word forms were probably due to instruction. The teachers heard these readers leave off the *-ed* endings and probably encouraged the children to pronounce these endings. Teachers of bilingual children may need to adjust their instruction if they see evidence of double *-ed* word forms.

Because of the large number of syntactically acceptable miscues produced by the subjects in this study, it could be assumed that the teachers have worked well at teaching them English syntax. Instructionally, readers also need to know that reading must make sense, and increased emphasis can be given to semantic relationships.

These Navajo readers appeared to better understand stories that were more relevant to their culture. Teachers who preview reading materials can anticipate possible problems their students may have with certain concepts. For example, one of the stories used in this study referred to a *transom*. The transom in the story was critical to its overall meaning, yet it is likely that these Navajo children have never seen a transom (probably some teachers haven't, either). It is very important that teachers anticipate these possible vocabulary problems.

The readers in this study can successfully handle English syntax. There were indications, however, that they may believe that the purpose of reading is to learn English or to produce acceptable English grammar. The children's answers to the following questions point to this conclusion.

Researcher: What do you think this story is trying to teach you?
Child: Words.
Researcher: What do you think it was that the person who wrote the story was trying to teach you?
Child: The words.
Researcher: If you were going to go back and tell somebody in your room what this story was about all in one sentence, what would you say?
Child: I read a story.
Researcher: And?
Child: And make sentences.
Researcher: What was the lesson in this story? What was this story trying to teach you?
Child: To learn.
Researcher: To learn what?
Child: Speak English.
Researcher: Did you think while you were reading this story that something wouldn't work out?
Child: Yes.
Researcher: What did you think wouldn't work out?
Child: The words.

It is hoped that this study has revealed some information about reading as a language process. Such information may be useful to design reading programs in Navajo classrooms as well as in other classrooms where bilingual children are present. The purposes of reading must be made clear to the learners if we are to foster the acquisition of literacy.

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PART THREE

Enhancing Reading Comprehension

John G. Barnitz

Reflect on your own personal experiences with reading comprehension of texts about various cultural content in various contexts. As you read books by authors from various centuries or from culturally diverse lands, recall when comprehension was relatively easy for you and when it was more difficult for you. Recall when you have read texts out of *context*, out of the geographical, social, or cultural contexts in which they were written.

While in Minneapolis, Minnesota, a few years ago, I visited Minnehaha Falls, named after one of the Indian characters in the poem *The Song of Hiawatha* by the 19th-century poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. At the souvenir shop in the park pavilion, I purchased a collection of Longfellow's poetry (Longfellow, 1992). While returning home to New Orleans, Louisiana, via Chicago's O'Hare International Airport—in the world's busiest airport—I tried to read Longfellow's *Evangeline, A Tale of Acadie*. The situational context did not support my reading of the text and I, therefore, had more difficulty than usual with my comprehension. A better place for me to read it would be in the heart of Cajun (Acadian) country in rural Louisiana to visit "the forest primeval" with the "murmuring pines and the hemlocks, bearded with moss, and in garments green..." (p. 71). That situational context and some rural cultural background knowledge will enhance my literate experience of that poem. Awareness of cultural, social, and geographical contexts influence comprehension.

Classrooms have learners from diverse cultural, linguistic, geographical, and social backgrounds who will comprehend texts poorly unless appropriate instructional strategies are used—strategies that help all learners connect texts with their own cultural and linguistic experiences.

Over the past few decades, much research on reading comprehension and learning has been conducted from a variety of perspectives from various fields: education, psychology, linguistics, artificial intelligence, and philosophy (Bernhardt, 1991; Ferdman, Weber, & Ramirez, 1994; Goodman, 1996; Pearson, Barr, Kamil, & Mosenthal, 1984; Ruddell, Ruddell, & Singer, 1994; Spiro, Bruce, & Brewer, 1980). The results of this research have shed light on the many factors influencing the construction of meaning for texts that we read or write. *Cognitive factors* within the minds of readers (e.g., schemata, memory, attention, interests, and cultural awareness) and *language factors* (e.g., pragmatic, semantic, syntactic, and phonological and orthographic systems) work together when reading text.

Certainly, context influences what we compose in our minds in responding to texts. Context of the mind (i.e., prior knowledge, schemata), context of previously and later-read portions of any given text (as well as connections with other similar texts we remember reading), and the context of the present situational context in which a text is read—all influence comprehending (Anderson & Pearson, 1984; Spiro, 1980). Likewise, classroom talk surrounding texts in the social contexts of school and nonschool settings also are significant in literacy performance (Au, 1993; Horowitz, 1994). Knowledge of a text's cultural discourse and content facilitates comprehension of texts written and read by diverse learners. Therefore, comprehension instruction for *all* developing readers must be sensitive to the total orchestration of cognitive, linguistic, and cultural variables in order for the literacy learners to construct meaning for the texts they are reading. Comprehension is the essence of reading for *all* people, including native and nonnative speakers of any dialect or language. Diverse learners bring to texts their culturally and linguistically rich heritages, and use them successfully or unsuccessfully in composing and comprehending.

Teachers can best facilitate their students' reading comprehension by using instructional strategies that enable learners to access their rich cultural background knowledge and native linguistic abilities as they write and read. Then, watch literacy emerge and grow.

The articles in Part Three present such instructional strategies. These strategies focus on learners' comprehension and, though all will benefit from them, they are especially effective for use in diverse classrooms. The authors present practical recommendations for instruction based on common beliefs. Each author emphasizes the learners' potential and respects diversity rather than believes it to be a deficit. Each also endorses holistic process strategies rather than skills-in-isolation approaches. Each incorporates language and cultural schemata in learning to read texts. Each capitalizes on the use of context in literacy performance. Each promotes constructive talk and inquiry *before*, *during*, and *after* encountering texts. Finally, each points to the need for teachers to orchestrate culture, language, and cognition to best help *all* learners succeed. What follows is a brief overview of the articles in this part.

Billie Andersson and I discuss how cultural schemata (both general cultural knowledge and specific religious knowledge) influence the readers' comprehension of texts compatible with their cultural backgrounds and those that are not. [Related to this article are ones I wrote in 1994 (included in this volume) on oral discourse diversity and another (Barnitz, 1986) that discussed written discourse schemata.] We discuss how cultural schemata influences reading performance and suggest ways to facilitate reading comprehension of diverse learners. We also recommend some specific instructional strategies that capitalize on the unique cultural knowledge of learners.

One such culture-sensitive instructional method is the experience-text-relationship (ETR) method presented in the article authored by Kathryn Au. ETR incorporates and celebrates cultural uniqueness in oral discourse and background knowledge in comprehending texts during instruction. Using the ETR allows learners to connect their unique cultural knowledge and any culture-specific discourse with any text to construct meaning.

Consistent with approaches such as ETR, Christian Knoeller highlights the importance of classroom discourse in learning to compose and comprehend. Student-led discussions provide a situational context for facilitating interpretations of text in powerful ways. Teachers accommodate various student "voices" in classroom discourse to support literacy performance of a wide variety of texts. Two cases of culturally diverse learners are presented to show teachers how to restructure lessons to accommodate classroom discourse in literacy performance.

Sandra LeSourd recommends using advance organizers to facilitate comprehension of cultural beliefs and behaviors represented in culturally diverse texts. Advance organizers provide a contextual overview of the content to aid readers in understanding ideas in text. Presented in this article is a demonstration of how advance organizers can be used in a multicultural lesson.

Katherine Maria provides a variety of guidelines for selecting strategies to be used during the prereading stage of reading lessons. During this stage, many connections can be drawn among text, talk, and background knowledge, especially relevant cultural knowledge. Teachers are encouraged to use a variety of prereading strategies, to consider the nature of the text and its ideas, to consider the children's background knowledge, and to use an interactive strategy for group discussion.

Betsy Santino advocates the use of folk tales to improve multicultural awareness and story comprehension. Story structure maps show similarities and differences among the tales as well as support oral discourse about given stories. Discussion encourages cooperative interaction centered around cultural texts, which enhances the reading experience beyond basic recall and recitation.

Joan Flatley and Adele Rutland present ways that reading can be taught in linguistically and culturally diverse classrooms, especially using picture books, a genre of children's literature. Visually represented meanings not only provide authentic contexts for oral language, but also enhance awareness of how written text is sequenced. Oral and written language—whether a first language or another language—is best learned in context of "comprehensible input" (Krashen, 1987).

Ann Baldwin May suggests ways to help developing readers understand figurative idioms that occur in English texts. Figurative language is useful in conveying meaning in oral and written language, but it can be potentially problematic for culturally diverse learners. During literacy lessons, idioms and other forms of figurative language can be discussed in the natural conversations surrounding the texts being read.

Finally, Kenneth Goodman and Catherine Buck address the issue of whether or not dialect diversity interferes with reading performance. Although Goodman (1965) previously argued that dialect differences can be "barriers" to reading comprehension, Goodman and Buck, after analyzing oral reading miscues of dialect-diverse speaking children, retracted that position and argued that the real barriers to learning to read standard English are teachers' rejection of vernacular dialects and their confusion of linguistic differences with linguistic deficiencies. Respecting dialect diversity in schools is part of the process of teaching vernacular speakers to read standard English texts.

Taken as a whole, the articles listed in the "For Further Reading" bibliography (p. 317) and the many cited throughout this volume contribute to a prolific knowledge base on the roles of culture and language in reading comprehension and instruction. As we enter the 21st century, teachers can capitalize on the strengths of *all* learners by using culturally appropriate instructional strategies.

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Cross-Cultural Schemata and Reading Comprehension Instruction

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Students in any one classroom may represent many backgrounds and bring to the reading task the diversity and richness of many languages and cultures. While there are basic similarities in the fluent reading process across languages (Hudelson, 1981), specific language and cultural differences can affect reading, especially as differences exist in orthographies, morphology, syntax, and patterns of discourse. On a broader level, how do cultural differences in background knowledge influence reading comprehension? How can teachers facilitate the English reading comprehension of culturally different students? This article discusses these issues.

To understand cross-cultural influences on comprehension, it is important first to understand the role that background knowledge plays in the reading process.

Schemata and Reading

Current psycholinguistic research supports the claim that reading is a meaning-driven (Goodman, 1970; Langer & Smith-Burke, 1982), multileveled, interactive, hypothesis-generated process (Spiro, Bruce, & Brewer, 1980). It is multileveled in that the reader uses various levels of language simultaneously (graphophonic, syntactic, semantic, etc.) (Goodman, 1970). It is interactive in that reading is driven by the structure and content of the text and the reader's prior knowledge (Rumelhart, 1977). It is hypothesis-generating in that fluent readers predict and confirm information while reading a text (Goodman, 1970).

Readers bring to a text a wide range of experiences with the world and with discourse, which they use in constructing a meaningful representation of the text. Their prior knowledge, organized in topical clusters (schemata), provides a context for comprehension (Anderson, 1977; Morgan, 1983; Spiro, 1980). For example, the sentence *The note was sour because the seam split* (Bransford & McCarrell, 1974) is difficult to comprehend unless readers know that the discourse topic is bagpipes. Causal sentence structures can be either difficult or easy to comprehend (Barnitz & Morgan, 1983).

Many studies show that schemata affect reading comprehension. Anderson, Reynolds, Schallert, and Goetz (1976) presented two groups of university students (music education students and physical education students) with ambiguous passages. One passage could be interpreted as relating either to an evening of card playing or rehearsal of a wind ensemble. Another passage could be interpreted as a prison break or a wrestling match. The two groups interpreted the passages differently. For example, music majors interpreted the first passage to be about a rehearsal.

Similarly, Pichert & Anderson (1976) presented college students with a story that described features of a house and items in it. Readers were asked to take one of three perspectives (potential home buyer, burglar, or no special perspective) before they read the passage. The perspective had a significant effect on which ideas were recalled. That is, the "burglars" tended to recall more information about the "loot," while the "home buyers" were more concerned with the number of rooms, the leaky ceiling, etc.

Similar work confirms the role of perspective and schemata in adults' comprehension (Anderson & Pichert, 1977; Anderson, Pichert, & Shirey, 1979; Goetz, Reynolds, Shallert, & Radin, 1982). Pichert (1979) documented how these perspectives influenced the reading of children in Grades 3, 5, and 7, and graduate students. The children did not always agree with adults in what they viewed as important details; children also did not always keep a perspective in mind during reading.

These studies imply that teachers should become aware of how their students' background knowledge influences reading comprehension and the need to provide appropriate contexts.

Cross-Cultural Schemata: Adults

An interrelationship between the structure of discourse and the thought patterns of people from various cultures is well documented (Kaplan, 1980). Story organization may also vary across cultures. For example, 80% of the Japanese folk tales studied by Matsuyama (1983) did not have main characters who were goal oriented. This is important for European and American readers, accustomed to stories with goal orientation, to know if reading a Japanese story, and vice versa.

Cultural content can also influence a reader's recall. American university students gave better summaries for a story from Western culture than for a collection of Alaskan Indian myths (Kintsch & Greene, 1978). When they listened to a Brothers Grimm fairy tale and an Apache Indian tale, their sequential recall of the Apache tale was poorer. Thus, both story structure and content differences affected the students' comprehension.

However, cross-cultural story structures do not always decrease comprehension or recall. When Mandler, Scribner, Cole, and DeForest (1980) told European stories to Liberian subjects in their native language, Vai, and to American subjects in English, no significant differences occurred in comprehension. The researchers argued that many story structures are universal.

Another study more decisively illustrates the influence of cross-cultural schemata. Steffenson, Joag-Dev, and Anderson (1979) had American and East Indian university students read two letters—one on an American wedding, the other about a wedding in India. The American rituals involve clothing, flowers, and receptions, with the bride the dominant figure. In Indian weddings, the groom's family, financial interests, and the social status of the two families are prominent.

The students read faster the passages that matched their own cultural framework. Asked to recall the culturally unfamiliar text, readers distorted facts and inserted ideas from their own culture. For example, Americans refer to the ceremony as the "wedding" and the resultant state as "marriage." No such differentiation is made by the Indian culture. Reading about an heirloom dress, an American commented on its sentimental value and the tradition of wearing something old and something borrowed, but an Indian reader commented on its being out of fashion. American readers changed "gifts to the in-laws" to read "the exchange of gifts," viewing the act as reciprocal. The Indian reader recognized the gifts as part of the dowry given to the groom's family. This study again clearly shows the role of cultural schemata in the reading process.

Similar findings were documented in a listening comprehension study comparing American and Australian Aboriginal female listeners who heard two stories about illness and treatment (Steffensen & Colker, 1982). The Western passage described a boy's illness as a result of eating spoiled meat and related his mother's reactions and the treatment. The Aboriginal passage told about a man of the Walbiri tribe and how the spirit of a sacred site introduced bones into his body. Here too, elaborations and distortions were noted. Westerners "remembered" that the mother called and made an appointment before going to the doctor, though no such reference was made in the passage. In the Aboriginal treatment of the victim, the kinsmen cut their arms, and the sick man drank the blood. American listeners recalled this as a blood transfusion.

Second Language Effects

In reading comprehension, students of English as a second language (ESL) also are affected by language complexity and cultural background. Research on these effects sometimes focuses upon the adaption of text as well as vocabulary presentation.

Johnson (1982) noted that prior experience prepared ESL students to comprehend information about Halloween, yet varying the amount of vocabulary exposure had no significant effect. In an earlier study with native Iranian and American subjects, Johnson (1981) found that a text's semantic and syntactic complexity had less effect on comprehension than did its cultural origin. Again, students understood stories from their native cultures better. This may also be related to the affective response of readers to material in their own culture (Joag-Dev & Steffensen, 1980).

It should be noted that in addition to story familiarity, context is a crucial aspect of comprehension. Students learning to read English are less proficient in using both textual and contextual clues (Carrell, 1983b; Carrell & Wallace, 1983), especially as they are also struggling with other aspects of the language.

Teachers need to become more familiar with linguistic (Cowan, 1976) and cultural differences in comprehension. The area of background knowledge has been neglected in ESL reading instruction (Carrell, 1983a; Hudson, 1982).

Cross-Cultural Schemata: Children

While cross-cultural differences in story content and familiarity affect the reading of adults, can the same phenomenon be found in young people's reading? Only a few studies examine this question (Andersson, 1981; Andersson & Gipe, 1983; Lipson, 1983; Reynolds, Taylor, Steffensen, Shirey, & Anderson,1981). Reynolds et al. investigated the effects of cultural differences between urban, working-class black students and white students from an agricultural area. Eighth graders from the two populations read a letter written by a friend who had moved away, describing a critical episode in a school cafeteria. The letter contained verbal insults among the students such as "You so ugly that when the doctor delivered you he slapped you in the face." Asked to read the letter and recall it, the urban black students tended to interpret the passage to be about verbal play, ritual insults, or "sounding," a common verbal style in the black community, whereas the white students tended to interpret the passage as involving physical aggression.

Religious schemata, too, affects children's comprehension of texts that reflect religious practices. Fourth, fifth, and sixth graders, some Catholic, some Jewish, reading two passages entitled "Bar Mitzvah" and "First Communion" (Lipson, 1983), recalled more information and were able to generate more inferences when they were familiar with the events in the passage. They also made fewer errors in recall and took less time to read the familiar passage. Cultural-religious schemata influenced the children's comprehension of familiar and unfamiliar texts about religious events.

A new study has compared the effects of cross-cultural schemata on the reading comprehension of sixth graders in a New Orleans, Louisiana, area Catholic school and a New York Greek Orthodox school in their inferential reading (Andersson, 1981; Andersson & Gipe, 1981). This study considered geographical, ethnic, and religious influences on children's reading comprehension, using paragraphs involving 12 familiar and 12 unfamiliar schemata. There was a strong relationship between cultural group and performance on the inferential measures.

These studies all illustrate the need for teachers to facilitate reading comprehension by considering cross-cultural schemata.

Reading Comprehension Instruction

Following are some guidelines for developing comprehension of culturally different students. These guidelines are also relevant to teaching content area material to any students.

- Select appropriate reading material for reading comprehension instruction. Students will be more involved, interested, and successful in reading material that relates to them and that matches their cultural background. Yet reading to learn implies reading material that is unfamiliar, whether it is content area material or culturally different material. If students are to develop proficiency in reading unfamiliar material, then teachers should provide contexts and schemata that support comprehension of both background knowledge and the text's structure. These include prereading activities such as providing pictures, learning to do an activity that is mentioned, or discussing cultural experiences. Teachers must bridge the gap between the text's content and the reader's schemata.
- Use methods and approaches that are sensitive to the readers' cultural schemata. Useful ones include the Language Experience Approach (Allen, 1976; Hall, 1981; Stauffer, 1980), the directed reading-thinking activity (Stauffer, 1980); and the experience-text-relationship method (Au, 1979).

In the Language Experience Approach (LEA), the student dictates stories to the teacher, who writes them down for subsequent reading and language expansion. LEA is useful for culturally different students because the reading material matches the students' cultural concepts. The teacher can easily build on the dictated stories to help students expand their language and cultural knowledge.

The directed reading-thinking activity (DRTA) orchestrates the prior knowledge of the reader and the content of the material. It has prereading, reading, and postreading phases in which the teacher guides students to set purposes for reading, to process ideas, and to justify predictions made through reading (Stauffer, 1980). Questioning and interacting with the students, the teacher can relate culturally different content to their prior knowledge. Students become active thinkers as they read familiar and unfamiliar content.

In a similar way, the experience-text-relationship method allows students to relate their own experiences to the culturally different text (Au, 1979). Students discuss their past experiences related to the story, then read silently a specified amount of text. Teacher questions may be interjected. Next, the teacher and students draw relationships between the text and their prior cultural experiences. In this step, cultural experiences can be compared, contrasted, or classified so that the students can expand their cross-cultural schemata.

No matter what approaches are used, the teacher must provide meaningful contexts for comprehension.

- Cross-cultural vocabulary development is a crucial part of reading comprehension instruction. Vocabulary is best learned when the target words are learned in context (Gipe, 1978–1979), as there is a link between vocabulary and schemata (Anderson & Shifrin, 1980). Yet, teachers must become aware of the cross-cultural differences in vocabulary and how meaning may be represented differently in various languages. For example, *cut* and *carve* have distinct meanings in English that are represented by just one word in French, *couper* (Macnamera, 1972). Thus, a French speaker has to learn semantic distinctions in the concepts of *cut* and *carve*. Similarly, city students may need to learn to distinguish among a bayou, swamp, and marsh, while students from warm regions may need to learn to distinctions among toboggan, sled, and sleigh.

For suggestions on semantically based vocabulary methods, see Johnson and Pearson (1978) and Johnson (n.d.).

- Consider cross-cultural schemata when assessing reading ability. The research reviewed earlier shows how the context of the readers' prior experiences influences their recall and comprehension of culturally different material. Be aware of this fact when interpreting test results. Are the stories in the test or informal reading inventory controlled for cultural differences? Test items should be examined carefully and interpreted cautiously. If you are constructing an informal reading comprehension inventory, you should probably try to balance the number of culturally familiar and culturally unfamiliar passages. Students' responses should be examined in light of their cultural backgrounds.
- Finally, many culturally different readers will need language instruction. Their reading problems may be linguistic, if they do not have command of the language structures and functions needed to read well. In schools without intensive ESL or bilingual classes, many of these students will be in the regular reading classroom. Thus, reading teachers should be familiar with language differences and techniques for developing English proficiency. For surveys of techniques for facilitating English language and reading growth, see Celce-Murcia and McIntosh (1979), Mackay, Barkman, and Jordan (1979), and Rodrigues and White (1981).

We have examined the role of cross-cultural schemata in comprehension and the need for teachers to incorporate this knowledge in reading instruction. As more students make our classrooms more multicultural, their learning to read and reading to learn can be enriched with the cross-cultural understanding of their teachers.

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Using the Experience-Text-Relationship Method With Minority Children

Kathryn Hu-Pei Au

What place should the experiences of the minority culture child have in the reading program? Although many educators agree that the teacher should be accepting of the experiences gained by children in their own environments, the potential for using these experiences in promoting reading achievement is often overlooked.

One method in beginning reading that does try to use the child's experiences is the Language Experience Approach (LEA). The advantages of this approach are well known, but its limitations are less widely discussed. In most cases, language experience is best used to introduce children to some of the basic concepts of reading, so that they can at a later stage enter a basal reader program successfully. Being able to read a short text, which she or he has dictated to the teacher, may be an important first step for the minority culture child, but the real goal of reading instruction is to enable him or her to read what others have written.

The child's experiences will also contribute to reading achievement when the school uses a basal text containing stories directly related to the child's own world. At their best, these stories can be sensitive explorations of aspects of the child's daily life, but at times they are artificial, token attempts.

A third way of using the child's experiences to promote reading achievement is the experience-text-relationship (ETR) method, which uses discussion to link what the child already knows to what she or he will be reading about in the basal reader. A preliminary assessment of the child's existing knowledge has been recommended by Betts (1950) as part of the directed reading activity (DRA). The ETR method may be viewed as a specific application of the DRA.

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The examples used below to illustrate the ETR are from a reading lesson taught to a group of second graders of Hawaiian ancestry.

Experience

In an *E* or experience sequence, the teacher has the children discuss experiences they have had or knowledge they have, which are related in some way to the story. In the following example of an *E* sequence, the teacher is having each of the children talk about what she would do if she had a frog.

Teacher: Okay, let's think if we could do anything else with a frog. What would you do, Shirley?
Ann: I wouldn't touch the legs. Yuck.
Shirley: I would put it in a bucket.
Teacher: You would put it in a bucket. Okay, that's something different. What would you do with it?
Shirley: (Inaudible)
Ann: Yeah, you eat the legs?
Teacher: Okay, Shirley might even eat it. Good, you can eat frog, can't you?

Text

After this first part of the lesson, in which the children shared their experiences, the teacher has them read short parts of the story, usually a page or two, asking them questions about the content after each section is read. These are the *T* or text sequences. Sometimes the children show misunderstandings, which the teacher must work hard to correct, as in the following *T* sequence.

Teacher: Shirley, why did you say Freddy laughed? Okay, read the part that you said—when Freddy laughed.
Shirley: [Reading] "I would take it fishing. Freddy laughed."
Teacher: Okay, who says, "I would take it fishing"?
Nathan: Mr. Mays.
Teacher: Mr. Mays. And why did Freddy laugh?
Ann: Because maybe he didn't—maybe he didn't know that he was going to use the frog.
Teacher: No, he laughed for another reason. Ellie? Who can read that?
Ellie: Because—'cause Mr. Mays didn't know what to do with the frog. That's all he could think was—he didn't know that he could use frogs was—was a bait. That's why Freddy laughed.
Teacher: Okay, wait a minute. That's not the reason Freddy laughed.
Nathan: Frogs can't fish.
Teacher: Right. Okay, Mr. Mays says, "I don't have a frog, but if I did I'd take it fishing," and Freddy thinks, hah, going fishing with the frog sitting down with the fishing pole?

Relationship

The final category is the *R* or relationship sequence. In *R* sequences the teacher attempts to draw relationships for the children between the content of the story discussed in the *T* sequences and their outside experience and knowledge. In this example of an *R* sequence, the teacher provides the opportunity for the children to contrast their own knowledge about what can be used as bait in fishing with an idea presented in the story.

Teacher: Did you know before this that fish like to eat frogs?
Group: Nooo.
Teacher: I didn't—I never heard of using frogs for bait. Do you think they really do?
Nathan: Yeah.
Teacher: You think so.
Ann: My daddy—my daddy—use bread.
Teacher: Yeah, some people use bread. What else do you use for bait?

Shirley: Fish.
Teacher: Sometimes you use smaller fishes.

The *E*, *T*, and *R* sequences show the teacher's efforts to guide the children systematically through the cognitive processes related to understanding a written story. The teacher in the examples is a skilled questioner, particularly adept at leading the children to the correct answers, rather than telling them the answers directly. This strategy is an important feature of ETR lessons.

The children's responsibility is to answer the questions, and this is most important. First, answering gives them practice in formulating and expressing complex thoughts. Second, it gives the teacher an idea of which steps in the process are easy for each child and which are more difficult, so that the teacher is able to adjust questions to the proper level.

The ETR lesson provides opportunities for the children to explore many dimensions of the story and to integrate features of it with their existing store of knowledge. Interaction with the teacher is crucial. Almost always, the children's comprehension of these stories would be much poorer without the teacher's assistance.

As the children get older, we might expect them to use on their own the same cognitive processes that they originally used only under the teacher's guidance. Do children who have interacted frequently with a teacher in clearly structured ETR lessons show better reading comprehension than children who have not had this opportunity? Test results of Hawaiian children who have been instructed with the ETR method seem to indicate "yes" (Au, 1977).

For minority culture children, who often do not succeed in school, *E* sequences may be of particular importance in learning to read. These sequences can serve as links between the child's own world and the world of school. The teacher's use of *E* sequences can communicate to the children the fact that they have knowledge that can help them deal with otherwise strange school situations. Perhaps the absence of *E* sequences (or too few of them) in the kindergarten and first grade is one of the reasons that school experiences often continue to be puzzling and frustrating to minority culture children.

As we all know, conventional reading lessons consist mostly of *T* sequences. These lessons contain the implicit requirement that children create their own *E* sequences. If minority culture children are given lessons containing only *T* sequences they may not see the point of answering the teacher's questions, or they may be unable to answer them. They will certainly have great difficulty in constructing their own *R* sequences, since these depend on a foundation of successfully completed *E* and *T* sequences.

ETR lessons show us how minority culture children can be taught to read with good comprehension, using conventional basal reader texts. The key to the success of the ETR method is the teacher's willingness to let the children's past experiences be an integral part of the reading lesson.

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Negotiating Interpretations of Text: The Role of Student-Led Discussions in Understanding Literature

Christian P. Knoeller

Educators at all levels are being called upon to teach increasingly diverse student populations and, in English classes in the United States, a wider variety of texts. How diversity might change the way we go about teaching is the question I wish to raise. How exactly are we to address the works of a more inclusive canon with our students?

Over the past several decades, an issue that has become central to the study of an emerging discipline now widely known as classroom discourse is the role of spoken language in shaping student participation and learning (e.g., Cazden, 1976, 1988; Mehan, 1979, 1985). An important, related question concerns the interaction of oral and written language in the classroom (Horowitz & Samuels, 1987) and, in this context, the value to student writers of talk about text. Talk and text, after all, are the stuff of which schooling is made.

Studies of classroom language suggest that the way teachers structure lessons profoundly affects not only the amount but the character of student talk (Marshall, 1988). Moreover, how a teacher conducts class shapes and sometimes limits the ways students approach interpreting text; teacher-centered instruction often emphasizes textual scrutiny at the expense of personal response (Applebee, 1988). Yet many high school classes, including those in English, are conducted in relatively traditional, teacher-centered formats (Cazden, 1988). What is at stake are the kinds of questions that are legitimized in the discussion of literature and the role students are enabled to play in the social negotiation of interpretation.

Are there productive ways that not only reading lists but discussions themselves can be reconceived? Are there ways to renegotiate authority in the classroom to ensure that all students have

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a greater opportunity to participate fully and to help shape the course of their own learning?

In this chapter, I examine one promising alternative and demonstrate its special importance as a response to diversity. After describing the instructional context and the nature of student-led discussion, including the teacher's role, I consider the views of two quite different students about its effectiveness and explore how such discussions naturally give rise to a variety of voices as students cite text and quote one another.

Responding to Diversity

I observed student-led discussions in the classroom of one teacher who wrestled with the issue of diversity: Joan Cone at El Cerrito High School in California. Cone faced such a challenge when reforms to tracking policies opened 12th-grade English classes to all students on a self-selection basis.

Cone and her colleagues in the English Department at El Cerrito High School set out to dismantle entrenched tracking procedures, ultimately allowing students—regardless of their academic histories—to select college preparatory and even advanced placement (AP) classes. Cone's AP composition class was complex: balanced in terms of gender, ethnically diverse, and, importantly, multilevel. Combined Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores of students in the group, as just one measure, ranged from 750 to 1350. Some students had attended gifted and talented programs and honors courses throughout their school careers, while others had never set foot inside a college prep classroom. A nationally ranked debater sat beside students initially too intimidated to speak. Indeed, the term *advanced placement*, in this context, clearly took on new overtones.

In order to teach a rigorous advanced-placement level curriculum to a broad band of students, Cone, a veteran of 25 years of teaching high school English, chose to experiment with instructional strategies. She permitted her students, for example, to select some of the books they were to read, discuss, and write about. She purposely crafted sequences of spoken and written activities, calling on students to write both in anticipation of and in response to their discussions of the texts they had read. Finally, Cone allowed student volunteers to lead their own discussions of literature. Student discussion leaders were charged with raising productive questions and keeping discussions moving. Importantly, this role was not conceived in terms of imitating traditional, teacher-led discussions, but, rather, licensed students to interact.

Renegotiating Authority in the Classroom

Student-led discussions offer one promising alternative to more conventional instruction. One obvious benefit is that students have the opportunity to participate more fully by talking more. For instance, my own dissertation research, upon which this report is based, shows that the student-led format proved conducive to participation: Often 90% or more of students spoke during such sessions (Knoeller, 1993). Given diverse student populations, ways of teaching that heighten student participation are doubly important.

In student-led discussions, there is also the potential for students with different perspectives to interact, negotiating interpretations of text with relatively little mediation by a teacher. Interestingly, the identity of authors, including ethnicity, appears to influence which students speak most and who speaks for particular authors. Student-led discussions also reveal patterns of participation along gender lines: Female students in Cone's class, for example, were especially inclined to speak for female authors such as Virginia Woolf, voicing her words and perspectives (Knoeller, 1993).

Allowing students to lead discussions themselves can transform how they view the classroom. When confronted with different interpretations by classmates, students are challenged to substantiate and, at times, to rethink their own. Above all, student-led discussions allow students to redefine themselves as readers and writers.

What leads teachers to grant students such responsibilities? Cone, who has conducted formal studies of her classroom as a member of the Bay Area Writing Project Teacher Research Program, describes the principles that underlie the renegotiation of authority in her classroom as follows:

> Besides assisting students with understanding sophisticated text, talk can create a classroom atmosphere in which the most able reader and least able reader can collaborate in making meaning and can learn from each other by sharing their insights, experiences, questions, and interpretations.... The emphasis was always on asking questions, looking back at the text for substantiation, trying out interpretations, coming to agreement or living with disagreement: students creating meaning together, students teaching each other. And always it was writing begetting talk and talk begetting understanding.... A sense of community had been established along with a sophisticated model for how to read a book.

In effect, Cone is continually renegotiating authority in the classroom with the aim of allowing students to effectively and independently engage the text and each other. Yet her ongoing role in introducing students to approaches for the reading and discussion of literature should not be underestimated: Even during student-led discussions, Cone did not relinquish this responsibility. Rather, she directed students during discussions to substantiate their interpretive claims by grounding them in the language of the text, which, as we will see, systematically encouraged students to quote and paraphrase authors and characters.

Voicing—Whose Words Do We Use?

Clearly, student-led discussions influence patterns of participation; importantly, the complexity of such talk about text can be striking. I will focus specifically on how students integrate the language of others. Following Bakhtin (1981, 1986), I have termed explicit attributions of language *voicing*. Voicing language from a work includes both reading text aloud verbatim and paraphrasing liberally. To illustrate, here is text verbatim. (Note: All students' names have been changed.)

> I didn't really understand this line. Okay, I'll read the whole thing [reading from text]: "What was most startling about the case that the state of California was preparing against Mrs. Miller...." Do you guys have any ideas?
>
> (Laurie discussing Didion)

Here is an interpretive paraphrase:

> Well, I think a lot of what she was saying, I think a lot of what she saying was that, *Okay, so these, these men wrote about these women that were suddenly*, you know, *brave and...but they weren't whole. They weren't really complete characters. What it was was images*, I think, *in the books, that they weren't completely real. That the writers didn't; that the authors didn't, didn't give them complete characters*. I think that was a lot of what she was saying.
>
> (Eva discussing Woolf)

Attributed paraphrase, such as Eva's, puts in her own words an idea she believes an author would concur with.

In addition, students can voice words attributed to individuals or groups in society at large, which I term *contextual voicing*. The following example couples the voicing of other authors with voicing of the author actually being discussed.

> It's always her point that everybody's writing should be treated equally kind of thing. I can't remember if it was James Baldwin or Richard Wright who said, *don't look at me as a black*

> *writer. I am a writer. Don't*, she [Woolf] would say, *don't look at me as a woman writer. I am a writer.*
>
> (*Vera discussing* Woolf)

Finally, students can also quote each other, which I term *interactional voicing*:

> He [a classmate] didn't say *it was right*. He just said *that's what he* [Malcolm X] *said*.
>
> (Vera)

In essence, voicing occurs whenever a speaker attributes words to someone else—whether an author or a classmate and, importantly, whether reported or invented. Citing language from the text verbatim, students can introduce an author's language directly into discussions. In addition, students can also offer interpretive paraphrase, yet still attribute those words to a text.

Figure 1 Varieties of voicing: Whose language was voiced during student-led discussions?

Textual: Voices derived from the texts being read

1. Authors
2. Textual characters
3. Groups in the text

Interactional: Voices derived from the discussion

1. Other students
2. Oneself, presently or previously
3. Hypothetical (as in proposing a point of consensus)

Contextual: Voices derived from a wider societal context

1. Individuals not derived from texts discussed
2. Groups in society not derived from texts discussed

Note: While students might in theory also voice the teacher's language, there were no instances of their doing so during student-led discussions in the classes observed.

Verbatim quotation provides textual evidence, while an accompanying paraphrase offers a reading or interpretation. By coupling the two, students are able to harness voicing to express personal interpretations in relatively explicit terms:

> I think that that last page is really universal. Like what she says, the part that Natalie has already read. It says [reading from text], "if we face the fact, for it is a fact, that there is no arm to cling to, but that we go alone and that our relation is to the world of reality and not only to the world of men and women." That that really hit me because, you know, you, she's saying here [paraphrasing] *you are on your own whether you are a man or a woman. And it's women who are physically more dependent, but that your life is really just yours to live, and* you know, kind of *don't worry about having somebody to lean on all the time. Stand up.*
>
> (Vera)

Voicing language from texts may be essential to understanding reading in schools and perhaps is even prerequisite to textual interpretation. During student-led discussions of literature in Cone's class, students frequently attributed words and perspectives to others—whether authors, characters, or classmates. The central question is whose words. The varieties of voicing I observed in Cone's class are shown in Figure 1.

Linguistically, voicing resembles reported speech in ordinary conversation when a narrative involves what people have said. However, during class discussions of literature, voicing proves a powerful interpretive tool. The function of textual voicing transcends establishing detail since it allows readers to frame interpretations in terms of the text. Additionally, when students also refer to each other's words, they make connections by returning to and expanding upon specific topics. However, as Figure 2 indicates, students can use voicing to accomplish many things.

Judging by its pervasiveness, voicing the words of others in this way appears to be an integral part of interpeting text in the classroom. During student-led discussions in Cone's class, students voiced the words of others in one turn out of four. Such voicing entailed greater length and complexity; remarkably, student turns in discussion that attributed words to others averaged three times the length of those that did not. The point is that during student-led discussions, students demonstrate a natural facility for the complex oral attribution that voicing allows. Their ability to do so, I would argue, is crucial to testing tentative readings, defending particular interpretations, and working out differences of perspective about texts—among the highest virtues of student-led discussions. In short, voicing appears to have an important role when students collaborate to understand literature in the classroom.

Guiding Students to Address Voices in a Work

Perhaps it is natural that students quote and paraphrase text when the aim of discussion is its interpretation. Voicing can also be encouraged by a teacher. Cone, for example, asked students to examine texts closely. She thereby guided students as readers even during student-led discussions and introduced them to literary interpretation on her terms.

During the class's first student-led discussion, for instance, Cone directed students in the following way: "Now be really strict. I want you to go right to the text." Moments later: "Go over the text, you guys. I'm being real strict with you."

During the second such discussion, Cone elaborated on her approach to interpretation. Advising students how to approach the AP composition test, she suggested striking a balance between original response and close textual scrutiny: "Bring your reader self as well as your writer self to this. So trust those intuitions. You know, there has to be something really there [in the text]. You can't go off the wall...but trust that

Figure 2 General function categories for voicing

Textual

Unidirectional
- Illustrates the perspective of an author
- Illustrates the perspective of a character
- Illustrates the perspective of a group portrayed in text

Varidirectional
- Questions the perspective of an author
- Questions the perspective of a character
- Questions the perspective of a group portrayed in text

Interactional

Unidirectional
- Illustrates the perspective of another student
- Illustrates one's own perspective
- Illustrates a perspective of the group (e.g., class consensus)

Varidirectional
- Questions the perspective of another student
- Questions one's own perspective
- Questions a perspective of the group (e.g., class consensus)

Contextual

Unidirectional
- Illustrates the perspective of individuals not in text
- Illustrates the perspective of groups not portrayed in text

Varidirectional
- Questions the perspective of individuals not in text
- Questions the perspective of groups not portrayed in text

Note: Perspectives can be revealed by thought, word, and deed. Consequently, in addition to voicing reported speech verbatim from the text (as when reading aloud), invented attributions that are actually interpretive paraphrase can represent not only spoken words but the thoughts and actions of others.

there was something there. So you can talk about it and go to the text."

Clearly, a teacher can influence how students talk about books. Cone specifically encouraged students to articulate the perspectives of characters. Prior to discussions of Baldwin's *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, for example, Cone had asked students to write about characters to provide a foundation upon which discussion could build. She believed that prerequisite to comprehending the themes in the work, the class would need to address individual characters such as Gabriel in depth.

Immediately preceding the discussion itself, Cone again called attention to characters, opening that class as follows: "Yesterday we talked about several characters, and one person we didn't talk about is John." Donald, serving as discussion leader, immediately echoed this topic: "To start off, let's talk about John since we didn't discuss him yesterday. Does anybody have any thoughts on the character of John?"

Once this was established as a central topic, virtually at the teacher's request, the discussion repeatedly returned to the character John. Moreover, as students spoke about John, they repeatedly voiced the words of various characters in the novel. In fact, voicing took complex forms, including how characters had or might have spoken of one another. In this case, Cone had influenced the direction and the language of student-led discussion by identifying a central interpretive concern.

Student Views of Student-Led Discussions

Observing Cone's class, I discovered the power of student-led discussions for textual interpretation: During such discussions, students could interact with text and each other relatively unmediated by the teacher. I found it remarkable how conversational devices—above all, voicing the words of others—helped serve to interpret works.

Yet how did students themselves view student-led discussions? The following cases illustrate how two students viewed the renegotiation of authority in Cone's classroom and, specifically, how student-led discussion benefited them as readers and writers. The students in the two cases are distinct in terms of background and participation; moreover, each viewed and responded to student-led discussions differently.

Case One: Vera

Vera participated actively during discussions and employed voicing frequently. Vera's father is African American, her mother white. Cone recalled reading the composition that first gave her insight into Vera's family history. Set in Berkeley, California, in the 1960s, it is predictably tinged with idealism: "Berkeley was this thing: There was going to be no racism. Everybody is going to be equal." As a child of this interracial couple, Vera is heir to such ideas.

Vera's role model is Cone herself. She said of Vera, "Here is a kid who wants to be an English teacher, and she's concerned about tracking." Vera actually wrote for this class a research paper critiquing tracking policies. As an English major the next year at the University of California–Berkeley, setting her sights on a career in education, Vera told me she planned to focus on African American literature, "'cause I think that's the type of literature I enjoy reading most: Nikki Giovanni, Maya Angelou, Alice Walker."

Vera, who was in turn viewed as a role model by her peers, was influential in shaping the nature of student-led discussions, yet even she confessed having to overcome initial misgivings about her ability to perform at the AP level. She told me with characteristic modesty, "I came into the class thinking all these people are going to be so much smarter than me, this is only my third year in high school, etc., so I listened to people and I felt like, 'Oh well, I could add something to them.' " Indeed she could: In interviews, many of her classmates said they respected Vera for standing up for her views. It was Vera who proposed reading Virginia Woolf.

Cone, who herself also modeled such textually based interpretation, particularly appreciated how Vera introduced practices that conformed to her own approach. In interviews, Cone pointed out that Vera, who was among the first to quote text verbatim during discussions, modeled for her peers. Cone (1992) wrote:

> Vera came to class with page numbers marked and quotations highlighted. As she participated in the discussion, she modeled how to use specific references and passages in a book to discover meaning, to defend her interpretation, and to provide exciting questions.... Both the students and I were amazed at Vera's expertise at literary analysis. They showed their respect for her by copying her method. (p. 714)

Cone praised Vera in class for quoting from text to substantiate interpretive claims, thereby advocating the practice.

> Vera said, *Well, look on page 346*. And lots of you have begun to do that. Very sophisticated. That's saying *this is what I think*. And *let me explore it in terms of the text*. You're really proving it. That's extremely important, that you use the text as a basis of what you will say.

Vera herself seemed to consider the technique of citing text second nature, a natural byproduct of her role in leading discussions: "When I lead the discussions, I usually just as I am reading the book go through and underline certain passages or whatever, and I can kind of remember where they are in the book, and when something comes up, or something has to be clarified or whatever, it's usually something that I have underlined." Vera's function as a model was particularly significant, of course, given the student-led format for discussions.

Since Vera was viewed as an outstanding participant by her teacher and classmates, it is of particular interest how she herself viewed student-led discussions. In an interview, Vera highlighted two aspects of discussions that in her view had enabled the class to address even sensitive subjects: mutual respect and a willingness to listen. Vera's account resembled Cone's own appraisal:

> Everybody really respected everyone else's opinion, because I guess we thought everybody else was so smart....what happened is, the first discussion we respected what everybody else had to say, and so from then on we were always able to listen to each other.... I think we were interested in what we were talking about, and we were able to just listen to each other, and I think this group is somehow looking for truth.

A willingness to respect each other's perspectives undoubtedly established an environment safe for discussing provocative works. Other students claimed that accepting multiple perspectives was important to understanding literature. According to Byron, students had adopted the tolerance Cone had modeled: "[Students] would say 'Well, I don't agree with you, but I'm not saying [you're] necessarily wrong or something.' I think that was important."

Without question, it had been Vera's aim to persuade other students of her own perspective during discussions, especially in the case of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, a book that students had selected. Vera's interview was revealing in how candidly and unapologetically she described her intentions to win over classmates:

> I guess everybody feels like this—that you're the only one that really understands...it didn't feel like I could change [other students'] minds, but—because a lot of times you just can't change people's opinions—but I felt like they should understand.

Vera's writing similarly revealed what she wanted to get across to the class. Furthermore, she claimed "Most people kind of learned in the discussion, especially some of the white kids.... I think at times it woke some people up."

Although other students frequently referred in interviews to Vera's leadership during discussions, no one expressed resentment. In fact, Lou pointed out that one benefit of student-led discussions is that the explanation of peers, particularly Vera, were as a rule more accessible than those of teachers. In Lou's estimation,

> Students like Vera and stuff, they're very good at this and they point certain things out. It's like a level that is more, you know, related to us. You know they relate the [reading] more to us than when the teacher does it.

Moreover, according to Lou, Vera's ethnicity gave her special credibility when interpreting texts by African Americans.

In fairness, for all of her intentions to lead and persuade, Vera also viewed discussions as an opportunity to clarify her own understanding of works. Not above rethinking, Vera conceded:

> In discussing the books, sometimes I went into the discussion not really understanding or feeling like there was something—a point I didn't get or something I was missing—and you come out of the discussions, a lot of the times I felt a lot better about understanding the book. And that helped my writing—understanding literature better. It makes me kind of able to express my opinions, my feelings better.

Importantly, Vera perceived that her overall understanding was born not only of reading the books but of discussing and writing about them as well.

Case Two: Lou

Lou, who is Chinese American, is viewed by Cone, not ordinarily one to pigeonhole her students by ability, as an exceptional student; in fact, he began attending the University of California concurrently his senior year. Yet Lou seldom spoke during discussions and never employed voicing. Cone appointed Lou leader for a discussion in November precisely because she hoped he might discover the value of participating. To no avail: Even during that session, Lou's contributions were virtually inaudible.

Yet Lou was clearly involved as listener. Indeed, if any student refutes the assumption that one has to participate in student-led discussions to benefit from them, it is Lou, who often wrote with detailed reference to what others had said during discussions. When Lou tackled the issue of racial separatism in *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, for example, he summarized the discussion succinctly and indicated, in response, how it had catalyzed his own rethinking.

In an interview, Lou described advantages he saw of the student-led discussions over traditional teacher-centered classes, pointing out the discretion with which Cone had participated:

> She [Cone] listens to the discussion, and whenever there's like a, like students aren't on the right track or something, she like steps in and kind of gets us on the right track, asking us questions. Otherwise, she's not like, she doesn't point things out [pedantically], like she doesn't say *this is this, you have to know this right here, symbolism here*, you know, *character, this-and-this be this-and-this*, right, so, you know, she, I mean, she listens to the discussion, and I guess she participates like, as a student, sometimes, instead of like a teacher.... And then she'll step in and say, you know, *that's enough of that. Let's move on to another subject.* It's different when a teacher runs the show, it's just, just kind of up to him. He has like a lecture written out and, you know, point by point. It's different.... Whereas like in a regular classroom, like, you know, a teacher kind of intimidates the students. Cause he's up there, you know, talking, making these complicated points and, you know, [students] just taking notes or something.

Lou preferred student-led approaches to conventional discussions for several reasons. First, in his view, student-led discussions render works more accessible; second, they allow for modeling by classmates; and third, the outcome is a more meaningful personal understanding of works.

Beyond those advantages, in Lou's estimation, student-led discussions "give the students more time and more freedom to discover their own opinions [and]...see what others feel about it." Lou assumed that multiple interpretations of text are inevitable in the discussion of literature and, moreover, not only acceptable but actually desirable, a philosophy that Cone herself had espoused. Lou argued, "Each person could express a certain view and still be right....I think that [student-led discussion] gives everyone the chance to tell how he looks at a certain piece of literature."

Lou adamantly defended the importance of students' exercising the freedom to express personal interpretations. Despite his own silence, Lou claimed that students get more out of it precisely because they participate actively and collaboratively in working out an interpretation. Yet, ironically, his writing suggests that Lou had perceived consensus even in the midst of disagreement—perhaps reflecting his faith in the power of consensus to establish a credible interpretation of a work.

Overall, even though he had not spoken, Lou clearly profited by listening to student-led discussions, since he had internalized what others had said, especially given the degree of detail his writing had captured—albeit selectively—in reporting and responding to the ideas of others.

Student-Led Discussions in Perspective

While licensing students to engage in instructional conversation of their own making, Cone maintained her role in defining the objective of study, elevating particular aspects of text, whether thematic or structural, to the place of central interpretive issues. In essence, what Cone advocated is close reading of text, an interpretive approach that still by and large holds sway in high schools. Yet in asking students to write in response to discussions, Cone's teaching reflects response-oriented theory.

The student-led format for discussions opened the door to rich interactions among students as they negotiated the interpretation of text in the social context of the classroom. What then is the role of talk in the understanding of text? I have come to believe that the classroom can provide a forum for the meeting and rethinking of interpretations and of perspectives. Ultimately, student writing can incorporate what are essentially readings of the discussions, metaphorically speaking the text of the talk, that is, the language and ideas of their classmates (Knoeller, 1993).

Through student-led discussions, Cone was constantly renegotiating authority in her classroom with the aim of allowing students independently to engage each other and the text. The benefits of this approach, as we have seen, are many. Serving as discussion leaders, students are deputized to new levels of authority for their own learning and, in particular, textual interpretation. Responsibility for coming to terms with challenging texts can be transferred to the students themselves. One consequence is remarkable motivation: In interviews, Cone's students described vying passionately for the floor.

The sophistication of talk about text during student-led discussions is clear from the language students use to discuss books, especially the ways they incorporate the voices of others to substantiate interpretations. Above all, students themselves view student-led discussions of literature as a welcome alternative to school as usual—one that transforms how they view themselves as readers talking and writing about text.

Author Notes

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Using an Advance Organizer to Set the Schema for a Multicultural Lesson

Sandra J. LeSourd

Learners read and reflect upon diverse topics to increase their knowledge base. The diversity is especially prevalent in multicultural instruction, which is typified by learners' interaction with information outside their cultural schema. Comprehension of human behaviors that are foreign to the learner requires substantial cognitive accommodation. To meet the challenge, teachers need compelling instructional materials and procedures.

This chapter describes a lesson design that facilitates students' comprehension of human beliefs and behaviors indigenous to foreign cultures. The goal is to make meanings implicit in a culture explicit to learners in a different culture. Teacher and learners participate by reading and discussing a story introduced with an advance organizer.

Cultural Schemata

Readers interact with new information in text by fitting it into their existing knowledge. If their knowledge matches the text's intended meaning, they add the information to their schema with ease.

Text comprehension depends upon the reader's ability to construct an interpretation that approximates the author's intended meaning. If readers do not have the necessary background knowledge, comprehension is inhibited (Joagdev & Steffensen, 1980; Melendez & Pritchard, 1985; Tierney & Pearson, 1981). This is especially the case when readers are faced with text foreign to the schemata common in their culture.

The specific problem of readers' interaction with unfamiliar cultural text has been studied definitively. Typically, experimenters measure and describe recall and comprehension of passages depicting events and settings that are not com-

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mon to the readers' cultural background. Such studies provide consistent indication that readers understand, remember, and enjoy their reading more when they possess relevant cultural knowledge (Joag-dev & Steffensen, 1980). When there is a close match between schema and text, readers recall more, read faster, and make elaborations consistent with the author's meaning (Steffensen, Joag-dev, & Anderson, 1979).

Natural Distortions

In contrast, reader ignorance of the cultural values and beliefs in a passage is a serious detriment to idea retention and inference. Readers distort culturally unfamiliar text by making modifications consistent with their own cultural values and beliefs. Unfamiliar material is explained in light of the familiar culture (Joag-dev & Steffensen, 1980; Steffensen, Joag-dev, & Anderson, 1979; Yousef, 1968). When text is ambiguous, readers rely upon their culture knowledge to produce their interpretation (Reynolds, Taylor, Steffensen, Shirey, & Anderson, 1982).

Yousef (1968) illustrates persistent misunderstanding of American cultural values among foreign nationals living in the United States. An effort to teach American literature to Middle Easterners employed by a U.S. company was plagued by learner distortion of the literature. To remedy the difficulty, the workers were given an entire course on North American behaviors, values, and attitudes in comparison to Middle Eastern cultural patterns.

The research into interaction of cultural schemata and reading comprehension is informative for educators who seek to bring multicultural understanding to school children. Clearly, comprehension of an unfamiliar culture's way of thinking and valuing is severely inhibited and distorted by lack of relevant experience—the learner must struggle to remember and interpret meaning. The logical instructional plan is to assist the learner to develop the schemata needed for multicultural understanding.

Inducing students to approach text with a conscious expectation for culturally different meanings may be a feasible plan for daily lessons. Melendez and Pritchard (1985) suggest use of prereading activities such as presentation of an overview, discussion of orienting questions, or prediction of content by skimming the text. Another plan, which is recommended here, is use of an advance organizer to establish the schemata for multicultural text.

Ausubel's Theory

Ausubel (1963), a theorist who pioneered the advance organizer, emphasized the relationship between existing cognitive structure and new learning. He maintained that learners typically relate new knowledge to what they already know, thus assimilating new information.

Learners subsume new data under general, more inclusive concepts and principles. The crucial variable for new learning is learners' possession of the requisite superordinate ideas.

The notion of a hierarchical, superordinate-subordinate idea relationship is germane to the lesson design suggested here. A way to facilitate the learner's subsumption process is to make appropriate superordinate concepts and principles available first. This may be done by introducing an advance organizer—a prepared statement at a higher level of abstraction, generality, and inclusiveness than the learning task itself. The advance organizer facilitates establishment of the superordinate layer of cognitive structure before assimilation of subordinate information is attempted (Lawton & Wanska, 1977).

Research to evaluate the effects of advance organizers has produced mixed results. In their summary of research reviews, Pearson and Gallagher (n.d.) conclude that advance organizers help readers, but findings under different conditions are variable.

Mayer's (1979) review indicates generally positive advance organizer effects. Support for the lesson design recommended here is derived from his observation that advance organizers can develop background knowledge that is missing from the learner's cognitive structure.

Establishing Schemata

The use of advance organizers to establish missing schemata is a rational design for multicultural instruction. Learners who are inexperienced in the cultural patterns presented in a lesson cannot engage the schema needed to assimilate unfamiliar material. They need background knowledge to help them bridge the gap between what they know and what they are learning (Tierney & Pearson, 1981). Introductory material (advance organizer) at a high level of abstraction enhances their potential for incorporating new knowledge into their cognitive structures.

The abstractions in the advance organizer should be statements of belief, value, or perception, which characterize a culture and explain the behavior of its people. If behaviors are presented in text without mention of values and beliefs that explain them, a distorted interpretation may be produced by a reader outside the culture. An advance organizer that contrasts new ideas with the familiar helps the reader make clear distinctions between differing cultural beliefs.

A Multicultural Lesson

Implementaion of the lesson proposed here for effective multicultural learning involves teacher and learners in reading and discussion. The teacher's goal is to persuade the learners to rely upon the abstractions presented in an advance organizer as they attempt to explain unfamiliar actions described in a story. The learners should be encouraged to express themselves freely.

For illustration, an advance organizer and accompanying sample story (see both displays) with teaching suggestions are included here. The abstractions presented in the advance organizer and events depicted in the story were developed from Hall's (1976) description of differences in cultural conceptions of time. The teaching suggestions are derived from instructional research and the practical experience of teaching the lesson. The teaching suggestions are explained in detail following the sample materials.

Each student should be given a copy of the advance organizer and story. Teacher and students discuss some questions both before and after the students silently read the advance organizer, and other questions after they read the story again silently.

The teacher's main role is to facilitate group discussion and clarify concepts contained in the advance organizer. The climate should be supportive so students will feel free to verbalize their reactions to unfamiliar cultural beliefs and behaviors.

Teaching the Sample Lesson

The sample materials have been used on an exploratory basis in small-group lessons with seventh-grade students. The lesson resulted in insightful written response to open-ended questions, and there was a high-participation level during discussion. The instructional procedures were guided reading and discussion.

Following is a sequence of steps for teaching with the sample materials:

Open the lesson by directing students' attention to familiar examples of time measurement in their own culture. Questions 1, 2, and 3 are guides for asking students to actively engage their own background knowledge. Familiar

Using the advance organizer for the sample story

Prereading

Think about your idea of time.

1. What are some examples of how you have measured time today?
2. What do Americans think when someone is late for an important business appointment?
3. Suppose you were the mayor of a city and several citizens requested an opportunity to talk with you on the same day. How would you plan to meet their requests?

Now you are going to read about a difference between two ways of thinking about time.

[Teacher directs students to read the advance organizer.]

Advance organizer

North Americans organize their time by dividing it into segments and following schedules. They often plan a day by estimating how much time will be spent on each activity. American culture is dominated by the idea that length is an important property of time. This way of thinking is called a linear definition of time.

Other cultures emphasize an opposite way of thinking. In some European cultures, the length of time spent on each activity is not strictly measured and beginnings and endings are unclear. The people believe it is quite possible to use time in several ways at once. Americans who travel to other countries are sometimes confused by this nonlinear use of time.

[Teacher provides direct instruction on content of advance organizer.]

Story

Now you are going to read about a business appointment between two American executives and the mayor of a town in another country. As you read, think about the way time is being used in the story "American Business in a Mediterranean Country."

Discussion

[Teacher first checks literal comprehension of the sample story.]

Now that you have read the story and learned that people in some countries do not measure time as if it were a line, tell what you think about each of the following questions.

4. Would you expect to see the activities described in the story if you visited the mayor's office in an American town? Why or why not?
5. What is the difference between the way the Americans thought of time and the way the mayor of the Mediterranean town thought of time?
6. Which particular actions in the story represent a linear definition of time, and which represent a nonlinear definition?
7. [Teacher elicits inferences and checks plausibility of conclusions.]
   Do you think each of the following statements is true or false? Why?
   (a) The Mediterranean mayor does not have good business manners.
   (b) The mayor is not interested in the new plant and tried to politely discourage the Americans.
   (c) Keeping appointments is not important, if time is not always measured.

[Final step: Students write a response to an open-ended question.]

knowledge should be engaged before learners are asked to build bridges to the unfamiliar (Tierney & Pearson, 1981). Ask for many examples and elicit wide participation. Use the prereading questions to increase students' awareness of their own reliance upon measuring time.

Second, direct students to read the advance organizer silently. Follow this with direct instruction for literal comprehension of the cultural abstractions in the advance organizer (Pearson, Hansen, & Gordon, 1979). Pose recitation questions and clarify difficult concepts. It is especially important that the students have a meaningful concept for the term *linear*. Ask them to explain individual sentences in their own words and assist where meaning seems unclear.

Third, direct students to read the story silently. Then assess literal comprehension, using recitation questions that require students to report the events described. This recitation should be followed by discussion of questions 4, 5, and 6, which focus upon the difference in cultural conceptions, students must use their understanding of the abstractions presented in the advance organizer.

Sample story

American Business in a Mediterranean Country

A large American electronics firm plans to operate in a Mediterranean country. The firm's executives are looking for the most suitable location for a new manufacturing plant, and they must get permission from local officials to build it.

The corporate executives have written to several mayors and a few have responded with interest. However, many details have to be negotiated before final agreement is reached between the firm and any one of the communities.

Two executives in charge of the project decide to visit a few locations and speak personally with local mayors. They hope that a meeting will help them clarify the firm's requirements and present the benefits of a new manufacturing plant in the town. The American executives have to find out the advantages of each location. The Mediterranean local officials have to be convinced that a new electronics plant will create jobs and revenue.

After an exhausting trip, the two Americans arrive at the airport in a mid-sized Mediterranean town. They have a 2 p.m. appointment with the local mayor. Since their flight was delayed, they do not have time to go to their hotel first. They take a taxi directly to the mayor's office.

The Americans find a large reception area outside the mayor's private office, filled with small groups of people, some sitting, some standing, and some circulating among groups. There is a lot of noise, because many conversations are going on at the same time. The Americans observe that everyone seems to be talking loudly and gesturing broadly. No one seems to notice them, so they just wait.

Finally, one man, who has circulated among several groups, approaches the Americans. He introduces himself as the mayor and generously welcomes them to his town. He thanks them for their visit many times and speaks with pride of his town. He describes some interesting local past events to acquaint them both with the history of the area.

The Americans are anxious to accomplish their business, so they try to guide the conversation toward discussion of the proposed electronics plant. Some information about choice of site and the hiring of locals is exchanged before the mayor excuses himself to talk with others in the room.

The mayor spent the afternoon circulating among the many visitors in the reception area. By the end of the afternoon, he had listened to everyone's questions and concerns. He chatted with the electronics executives several times. The Americans spent the afternoon meeting and talking with several local citizens in addition to the mayor. They left when they could see all the visitors leaving the reception area.

In their taxi to the hotel, the Americans reviewed the afternoon's events. It seemed to them that the mayor was involved with all the visitors to his office at once. In fact, they too had talked with many people, learned a lot about the town, and were certainly made to feel welcome. However, it was difficult for them to interpret what happened during their business appointment with the mayor. They thought they were close to finalizing a deal, but they were not certain that definite decisions had been made.

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It is important that the students interpret the story events with culturally authentic rationale. This is the point in the lesson when students verbally present an explanation for unfamiliar behaviors derived from the cultural abstraction, which accounts for the behaviors. In my experience, students have readily identified the story events that are examples of linear and nonlinear conceptions of time and clearly explained the link between the two cultural abstractions and differences in behavior.

Question 7 allows students to consider the plausibility of some conclusions based on the story. Ask them to justify their agreement or disagreement with each conclusion. They could rank the conclusions in order of plausibility and explain their reasoning to the class.

Discussion of question 7 is a direct strategy for making inferences (Pearson, Hansen, & Gordon, 1979; Tierney & Pearson, 1981). In exploratory lessons, students have justified their inferences with reference to the cultural abstractions presented in the advance organizer. At this point, their explanation of unfamiliar cultural behaviors is informed by their newly acquired knowledge of the cultural abstraction. The lesson is designed to provide the schemata needed for authentic interpretation.

For a systematic assessment of the success of the lesson, each student may be asked to write a paragraph in response to an open-ended question such as why the Americans were confused when they left the mayor's office. It is expected that students will show progress toward establishment of a relevant schema by citing the unfamiliar cultural conception of time presented in the advance organizer.

In the paragraphs written by students to date, all have referred to a difference in cultural expectations of how time should be used. They clearly attributed human behaviors to the influence of well-matched cultural abstractions. Approximately half the participating seventh graders voluntarily used the terms *linear* or *nonlinear* and pointed out the distinction. Written response to an open-ended question gives each student opportunity to demonstrate accommodation of a previously unfamiliar schema.

A Worthy Achievement

Both theoretical rationale and implementation experience provide persuasive argument for the efficacy of the lesson design presented here. A serious problem in multicultural instruction is learners' lack of the schemata needed for culturally authentic interpretation of unfamiliar text.

This problem can be addressed by introducing such text with an advance organizer, which presents cultural information at a high level of abstraction. The abstractions function as superordinate ideas, which enable the learner to produce authentic explanations of unfamiliar behaviors.

Exploratory lessons have confirmed successful transfer of the logic into practice. Students are able to explain the culturally unfamiliar without distortions.

The lesson design has potential for increasing cross-cultural understanding. In view of this promise, I urge curriculum developers and teachers to use the model to create and teach new lessons. The classroom dialogue that occurs as students reason toward authentic explanation is stimulating and engrossing. The sophisticated reasoning attained is a worthy achievement.

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Developing Disadvantaged Children's Background Knowledge Interactively

Katherine Maria

The explosion of research in comprehension in recent years has demonstrated that reading is a holistic, constructive process that is affected by many factors, particularly the background knowledge that the reader brings to the text. No text is completely self-explanatory. All authors assume some kind of background knowledge on the part of the reader.

Since background knowledge is such an important factor in reading—in fact, some say the most important factor—a problem arises when the background knowledge of the reader differs from that of the author. For example, a child whose knowledge of restaurants is confined to McDonald's™ will have difficulty understanding a text in which the author assumes knowledge of restaurant hostesses, waiters, and tips.

The Disadvantaged Child

The group of poor readers in the elementary school variously referred to as low-socioeconomic status (SES) children, children of poverty, or disadvantaged children is often assumed to be particularly prone to a lack of appropriate background knowledge. Indeed, one of the major disadvantages these children experience with regard to reading comprehension is the absence of experiences that are more common for middle-class children and are thus taken for granted by authors of children's texts.

However, categorizing background knowledge dichotomously (present or not present) or even in terms of degree (more or less) is far too simplistic. The role of background knowledge in comprehension and learning is much more complex.

A child may have the necessary background knowledge but may fail to call it up and use it as an aid to comprehending a text (Anderson,

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Hiebert, Scott, & Wilkinson, 1985). She or he may have a rich fund of knowledge and yet lack the kind needed for a specific text (Bransford, 1984) or have a misconception about one aspect of the topic that interferes with comprehension more than no knowledge would (Maria & MacGinitie, 1987). Even in groups of middle-class children with very similar backgrounds, variation in background knowledge is to be expected (Maria & MacGinitie, 1987).

Just as one cannot assume that a disadvantaged child has an experiential association with a particular concept, one also cannot assume that she or he *lacks* it. Variation in background knowledge should be expected in any group of children.

Group Knowledge

This point was brought home to me recently as I gave a demonstration lesson to seven disadvantaged minority sixth graders. The text we were preparing to read, "Knights and Tournaments," had been chosen because it was related to the social studies curriculum.

The lesson demonstrated semantic mapping, in which the first step is to brainstorm about a concept central to the text—in this case, knights, a concept that certainly seemed to me and to the children's teachers to be far removed from their experience. Thus, it appeared that the related concept *soldiers* might be a better choice for brainstorming. After all, you can't brainstorm about something you know nothing about.

However, I decided to be an optimist and try *knights* first. And the children knew a great deal about knights. Each child contributed a piece of information. Individually their knowledge was rather sparse; together it was extensive.

They knew that knights were skilled in battle, wore armor, fought with lances and swords, and engaged in sports in which they fought with each other. I found out later that their information came from a popular television cartoon with which I was unfamiliar.

Thus, while not every child had the appropriate background for the text, the group did, and through use of semantic mapping, with group discussion, appropriate background knowledge was developed for each child. When they read the text, they learned more about knights and medieval society.

Because the reading problems of the disadvantaged child are often so acute, those of us who work with them tend to focus too often on what they don't know rather than trying to determine what they do know. In fact, in some instances, disadvantaged children may have more knowledge than middle-class children.

For example, Yando, Seitz, and Zigler (1979) found that disadvantaged children showed more spontaneous and flexible approaches to problem solving than middle-class children did. Yet, we often act as if they have a general knowledge deficiency rather than a lack in certain areas.

Central Ideas

All texts contain many ideas, but only certain ones are central. Prereading development of background related to these central concepts improves comprehension of both narrative (Beck, Omanson, & McKeown, 1981; Hansen & Hubbard, 1984) and expository text (Johnson, Toms-Bronowski, & Pittelman, 1984; Langer, 1984).

In our concern over disadvantaged children's background knowledge, we should not lose sight of our goal: to understand a text. We should be sure that it is a central concept that is unfamiliar, not something peripheral. Too often, in preparing children to read a story, we focus on a peripheral aspect because we are aware that the children are aware that the children are unfamiliar with it.

In my graduate courses, I ask my students (most of them are teachers of low-SES children) to select two central concepts for the story *The Raccoon and Mrs. McGinnis* (Clymer, 1976). I use this story because it was used in the Beck, Omanson, and McKeown study (1981).

In this story, Mrs. McGinnis wishes on a star for money to build a barn. The raccoon for whom she puts out food every night frightens some bandits, who drop a bag of money. The raccoon moves the money to Mrs. McGinnis's doorstep. She thinks she got it because she wished on a star.

Using a story map, Beck, Omanson, and McKeown determined that the major concepts were *coincidence* (Mrs. McGinnis gets her wish through a series of coincidences) and *habit* (the raccoon's instinctive behavior). Yet my graduate students, when asked to determine two concepts for background development, invariably focus on the fact that Mrs. McGinnis lives on a farm, because the children they teach know nothing about farms. Learning about farms may be a legitimate goal, but it is not a prerequisite for getting the point of this story and should not be focused on with this text.

Planning

Thus the first prereading step is to determine the text's central ideas. To do this, a teacher must read the text very carefully; summaries and main points given in teacher's editions will not do the trick.

For expository or content area text, the teacher should write out the author's main ideas. With narrative text, a story map can be developed—a graphic outline of the story, including the setting, characters, action, problem, and resolution. Using this map, the teacher can determine one or two concepts that are crucial.

At this point, the teacher should shift focus from the text to the children and estimate what kind of background knowledge they have for these central concepts. The better a teacher gets to know her or his students through careful observation and discussion, the better she or he will be able to judge the type of background they are likely to possess, and the less likely she or he will be to under or overestimate their knowledge.

Langer (1982) reminds us that "Everybody knows something about almost everything," but the distance between what disadvantaged children know and what they need to know to understand some texts is often great. The teacher's job is to bridge that gap by finding an anchor point in what the children know (Pearson & Johnson, 1978).

In the demonstration lesson mentioned, *soldiers* was chosen as a fallback concept, a possible anchor point if the children knew nothing about *knights*. Selecting fallback concepts should be part of planning a lesson, but no matter how carefully we plan, we cannot always anticipate the condition of children's background knowledge. We may need to change our plans on the spot and move even further back in developing concepts.

Choosing Strategies

The teacher's next step is to choose a particular strategy from the many available. Which are the most effective? Tierney and Cunningham (1984), reviewing the research on reading comprehension, found no definitive evidence that one approach for developing background knowledge was better than another.

More studies comparing the use of different prereading strategies are needed to help teachers determine the most important aspects of a strategy and choose one for a particular text and situation. However, there are several guidelines teachers might use:

- *Don't always use the same prereading strategies.*

Although teachers will probably be more comfortable using some strategies than others, using the same ones all the time can be boring. Combining several is a good idea (Cooper, 1986).

Semantic mapping (Pearson & Johnson, 1978), the prereading strategy used in the demonstration lesson mentioned, combines brainstorming, discussion, and graphic organizers.

Teachers need a wide repertoire of prereading strategies. Cooper (1986), Devine (1986), McNeil (1987), and *The Reading Teacher* are sources for many good ones.

Peer coaching (Brandt, 1987), in which teachers watch each other try out new teaching strategies and provide feedback, is one of the best ways to become proficient in using a variety of approaches.

- *Consider the nature of the text and its ideas.*

Some strategies are more suitable for content area texts—for example, PREP (Langer, 1982) and K-W-L (Ogle, 1986). Others, such as the type of prereading discussion suggested by Hansen and Hubbard (1984), are more suitable for narratives. With both types of texts, prereading work should focus on central concepts.

With stories, disadvantaged children may have less trouble, since all stories center around characters solving problems, and problem solving is an area of strength for these children. Many of the best stories center around universal problems for which disadvantaged children do have the necessary related knowledge.

In *The Raccoon and Mrs. McGinnis*, for example, Mrs. McGinnis's problem is solved through a series of coincidences. Coincidence is an idea disadvantaged children would be familiar with even if they don't have the label for it and know nothing about farms.

- *Consider the children's background knowledge.*

When the children have less background knowledge related to the topic, the teacher may need to provide more input and guidance. For example, in the demonstration lesson, I had a picture of knights ready to display.

Cooper (1986) suggests that direct experience is the solution. However, "the realities of classroom instruction make it impossible to rely on direct experience as the major vehicle for concept development" (Pearson & Johnson, 1978, p. 34). Often the gap between disadvantaged children's background knowledge and the text's central ideas is not so great as we assume. If there is a gap, teachers should avoid the temptation to fill it by simply supplying the information—background knowledge cannot simply be presented to children who lack it, although this may seem efficient.

- *Choose an interactive strategy and use group discussion.*

As happened in the demonstration lesson, the group as a whole may have knowledge that each individual lacks. Moreover, since reading is an active constructive process, prereading strategies should provide for teacher-student and student-student interactions, not merely teacher presentations or reading in one text what is needed for understanding another.

Au (1979) has had great success with disadvantaged children in Hawaii using experience-text-relationship (ETR), a method involving interactive teacher-student discussion that relates the children's experience to the text's ideas. Semantic mapping uses discussion along with brainstorming in constructing a visual map that organizes the background activated in brainstorming. Moreover, it is interactive discussion, not the presence or absence of a visual map, that is crucial in semantic mapping (Stahl & Vancil, 1986).

Conclusion

When working with disadvantaged children, one cannot ignore the interactive and constructive nature of the reading process. Prereading strategies must involve interactive group discussion that connects the children's knowledge to the text's central ideas. The children must be actively involved in making that connection or nothing will be learned. Reading is thinking, and there are no shortcuts in teaching children how to think.

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Improving Multicultural Awareness and Story Comprehension With Folk Tales

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Children come to school with varied experiences and backgrounds. A study of folk literature at the beginning of the academic year is an enjoyable way for children to develop an appreciation for individual differences. Through folk tales children can experience other cultures and understand the diversity of the wishes, dreams, and problems of people around the world.

Folk tales contain four characteristics that need to be emphasized in creative, interesting ways in order for children to understand them. First, the magic in a tale lies in the characters being shown as they really are, not as a result of wishes or dreams. Second, intelligence and goodness generally outsmart evil. Third, magical power is limited and can only change outward conditions. Finally, evil never wins but is recognized as such and receives its due (Bosma, 1987).

In my third- and fourth-grade class, characteristics of folk tales were presented through group discussion and identified in tales during guided reading sessions. Students evaluated structural similarities and differences among variations of the same folk tale. Oral discussion was reinforced with visual representations of each tale's structure. Traditional literature used included *Cinderella* (Grimm & Grimm, 1981), *Yeh-Shen* (Louie, 1982), *Cinderella; or, the Little Glass Slipper* (Perrault, 1976), *The Brocaded Slipper and Other Vietnamese Tales* (Vuong, 1982), and "Vasilisa the Beautiful" (in Zvorykin & Onassis, 1978). The following activities, which spanned an 8-day period, were especially enjoyed by my students.

The familiar Grimm version of *Cinderella* was read aloud to the students first. To compensate for a wide range of abilities, they worked cooperatively to map the structure of the story (see Figure 1). As successive tales were read aloud, the whole class completed a Venn diagram to compare the familiar Grimm version with each cultural variation of it (see Figure 2). These diagrams were displayed in the room so the students could refer to them for the last activity.

Figure 1 Map of the structure of a story

Title of story

Setting—Where

Characters—Who

Problem

Action 1.
2.
3.

Resolution

After the Venn diagram for each folk tale was completed, the students worked cooperatively to fill in a comparison chart. The elements of the comparison chart covered story structure but provided an opportunity to compare variations simultaneously. During whole-class discussion, verbal responses were transferred to a poster size chart while students added information to their own papers at the same time (see Figure 3). Different colored markers for each folk tale were used to record information.

After mapping the first two tales, students actively sought out story structure, recurrent aspects of the tales, and differences among them. When comparing maps completed by small groups, discussion revolved around "Why do you think...?" questions concerning similarities and differences among the tales. These discussions provided students an opportunity to predict and hypothesize about various cultures. The comparisons also heightened their awareness of the universality of certain literary elements.

Figure 2 Venn diagram comparing two versions of the same tale

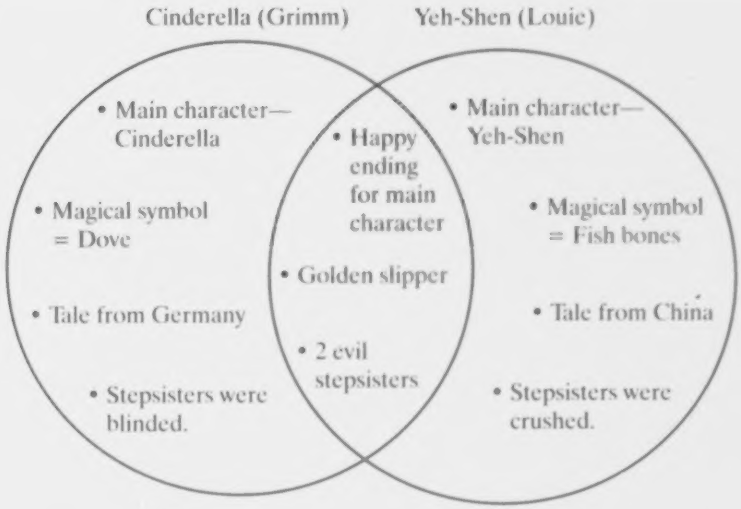
Cinderella (Grimm)
Yeh-Shen (Louie)
• Main character—Cinderella
• Magical symbol = Dove
• Tale from Germany
• Stepsisters were blinded.
• Happy ending for main character
• Golden slipper
• 2 evil stepsisters
• Main character—Yeh-Shen
• Magical symbol = Fish bones
• Tale from China
• Stepsisters were crushed.

Figure 3 Chart comparing several versions of a folk tale

Folk tale	Country of origin	Main character's name	Magical symbol	How does main character prove she is the one who the prince is seeking?	What happens to the stepsisters in the end?
Cinderella Grimm & Grimm	Germany	Cinderella	Dove	Fits golden slipper.	They were blinded.
Yeh-Shen Louie	China	Yeh-Shin	Fish bones	Fits golden slipper.	They were crushed by falling stones and killed.
The Brocaded Slipper Vuong	Vietnam	Tam	Fish bones	Fits brocaded slipper.	She kills herself. (Only one stepsister.)
"Vasilisa the Fair" Zvorykin & Onassis	Russia	Vasilisa	A doll	She was a skillful seamstress and made shirts for the King.	They were burned and turned to ashes.
Cinderella Perrault	France	Cinderella	Fairy godmother	Fits glass slipper.	They were forgiven and lived happily ever after.

This sequence of activities can be easily adapted to provide a visual comparison of the story structures of any traditional folk tale with its cultural variations. An excellent source of variant tales with extensive cross indexing is *The Storyteller's Sourcebook: A Subject, Title, and Motif Index to Folklore Collections for Children* (MacDonald, 1982).

Folk literature contains humor, adventure, and rich expressive language. Exposure to this language and content contributes to linguistic development and multicultural awareness. Folk tales can also assist a child in making sense of the world. They demonstrate that people from different cultures share a need for love, hope, and security.

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Using Wordless Picture Books to Teach Linguistically and Culturally Different Students

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Mobility of a population presents a challenge for the classroom teacher. Students speak many languages and dialects and represent many cultures and subcultures. The classroom teacher is expected to teach this diverse population to read and learn in standard English.

How do classroom teachers provide reading instruction for limited- and non-English speaking students, transitional students (i.e., students who speak English at school and another language at home), and those who speak nonstandard English dialects? The teacher confronts many problems: (1) inadequate teacher training in dealing with these students, (2) outdated methodology, (3) the absence of textbooks designed for different language students (Baker, 1983), (4) the different language and communication patterns of these students (Anderson & Barnitz, 1984; Saville, 1970), and (5) the different cognitive schemata of linguistically and culturally different students.

According to Saville, reading programs are ineffective if the learner's oral language habits are not used. Because phonology, syntax, vocabulary, intonation, orthography, and patterns of communication are different for the various dialects and languages (Anderson and Barnitz, 1984; Saville, 1970), the reading process of linguistically and culturally different students is made overly complex when the class uses standard text materials.

Levenson (1979) believes these students should begin to read and write in their predominant language or dialect before attempting to do so in standard English. He also suggests that the students learn both to listen to and to speak standard English before being expected to read and write it. Third, learners' linguistic differences should be taken into consideration when teaching the reading-writing process.

Most schools do not have sufficient text materials to teach the linguistically and culturally different students within the school. Schools and public libraries, however, have a bountiful supply of wordless picture books that can be used not only to teach reading skills, but also to illustrate differences between cultures. Because wordless picture books tell a story without the use of words, the linguistically and culturally different students can create text that is in their natural language pattern and based upon their prior knowledge and schemata.

This chapter discusses how wordless picture books can be used as instructional aids to teach culturally and linguistically diverse students. In addition, suggestions are given on how certain wordless picture books can be used to examine differences between cultures.

Strategies

Currently, there are many strategies such as SQ3R, capsule vocabulary strategy, Guide-O-Rama, and pyramiding that promote reading skills with content texts. With minor alterations these same strategies can be used with wordless picture books as is shown in Figure 1. Incorporating these activities in the reading and content classes can strengthen both reading and writing skills.

Figure 1 Example of a Guide-O-Rama for *A Boy, A Dog, A Frog, and A Friend* (Mayer & Mayer, 1971)

Page 1
What is the little boy doing? The round thing on the line in the water is called a cork. When the cork goes under the water it means something is pulling on the line.

Page 2
Does the little boy have something pulling on his line? How can you tell? When something pulls on your line when you are fishing you call it a *bite*.

Pages 3 & 4
The dog and the frog see the boy pulling on the pole very hard. Whatever is on the other end of the line must be strong.

Page 6
What was pulling on the line?

Page 7 & 8
Is a turtle mean?

Page 9, 15, 16
Should friends help each other?

Page 8, 9, 10, 11
What does "persistent" mean?

Page 20, 21, 26
What does the word *faking* mean? What does the phrase *pull the wool over his eyes* mean?

Prereading

Before reading actually begins, preview the wordless picture book. Survey the book and introduce the vocabulary. The SQ3R (Robinson, 1946) is a good strategy to foster familiarity with the text. Use the following five steps to teach SQ3R to linguistically and culturally different students:

1. *Survey*—Have the students flip through the book, noting the different illustrations.

2. *Question*—Did any of the pictures seem particularly interesting or familiar? What does the book seem to be about? Students should generate questions based on the illustrations (e.g., questions formulated about the book *Rain* by Peter Spier, 1982: Does rain help us? Is it all right to play in the rain? Do raindrops come in different sizes?)

3. *Read*—Look through the entire wordless picture book to answer all of the questions asked by students.

4. *Recite*—In a class discussion, answer all of the questions, referring to the illustration to support answers. Cultural differences can be discussed during this time so that students can understand why there may be more than one interpretation of the story.

5. *Review*—Look through the book again, discussing various concepts and illustrations. During this time help students link their prior knowledge with concepts presented in the book. It is at this point that discussion can generate concepts about cultural differences.

By using a study strategy like SQ3R, the linguistically and culturally different student can learn effective study skills without being impeded by print. Also in previewing the text, students can predict subtitles and themes more accurately and insightfully.

After the wordless picture book has been reviewed, vocabulary should be introduced. A fun strategy is the capsule vocabulary strategy (Crist, 1975). With this method, words are topically introduced to the class, with each group of words representing a capsule. Since students listen, speak, read, and write the words, the linguistically and culturally different student has more exposure to each term. This strategy involves four basic steps:

1. *Prepare capsule*—The teacher reviews the wordless picture book extracting 10–15 words that are deemed important (e.g., words selected from *In the Pond* by Cristini and Puricelli, 1984, are *tree frog, carp, tadpole, sandpiper, cattail, pond grass, reeds*, and *weeping willow*).

2. *Introduce capsule*—The teacher and students have a 5- to 15-minute conversation about the wordless picture book just reviewed. During the conversation the teacher uses the new vocabulary, and the students attempt to identify the words quickly. As each word is exposed, it is written on the chalkboard and discussed.

3. *Reinforce speaking vocabulary*—To automatize the new vocabulary and to reinforce standard English speaking skills, students are placed into small groups where the discussion continues for another 10 minutes. Students attempt to use as many of the vocabulary words as possible.

4. *Reinforce writing vocabulary*—To reinforce the expressive mode, students then write short paragraphs or stories using as many of the new words as possible.

This prereading stage to wordless picture book reading lets linguistically and culturally different students learn study skills and vocabulary without being penalized for their lack of standard English skills. Students use their language patterns and prior knowledge to express their interpretation of the story while incorporating new reading skills and vocabulary.

Strategies During Reading

Because "reading illustrations" should have a focus, a strategy should be used to help direct students through the text. One that is particularly adaptable to wordless picture books is the Guide-O-Rama (Wood & Mateja, 1983). This strategy (see Figure 1) helps students process major concepts in a text. It also helps to point out significant ideas or events. The five steps in developing a Guide-O-Rama are as follows:

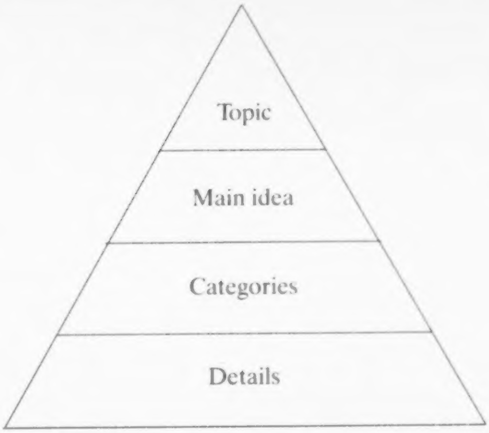
1. Determine an overall purpose for reading the wordless picture book.
2. Select those sections from the text that exemplify the concept and vocabulary being taught.
3. Develop questions or informative statements that will help students understand the illustrations.
4. Present the guide to the students, and explain its purpose as an adjunct to their wordless picture books. Demonstrate the use of the guide by having students work through a guide with you.
5. After completion of the Guide-O-Rama, have students discuss their answers.

Postreading Strategies

After a wordless picture book has been read, it is imperative to provide some activities that will reinforce the new vocabulary and that will require application of the concepts presented in the text. Often, culturally different students interpret the main idea of a text selection differently. Because culture plays such an important role in comprehending text, it is crucial that these students be guided through the process of finding the main idea as it emerges from the author's culture. A strategy that allows for this guidance is pyramiding (Clewell & Haidemenos, 1982).

Pyramiding is used to highlight superordinate ideas and to show how ideas relate to each other. This strategy (see Figure 2) organizes information according to details, middle-level ideas, main ideas, and topics. This strategy promotes interaction as pupils search, discuss, arrange, categorize, and label ideas. The procedure is as follows:

Figure 2 Example of pyramid format



1. Students read the wordless picture book.
2. Students state facts from the text as the teacher writes each fact on large index cards or sentence strips.
3. The teacher displays the cards in random order on the tray of the chalkboard.
4. Selected students then sort the cards into groups and arrange the groups in one horizontal line on the tray of the chalkboard. This line forms the base of the pyramid.
5. The teacher chalks in the next tier of the pyramid and solicits labels for the groups on the base line. The labels form the second tier of the pyramid.
6. Drawing the third tier but leaving it blank, the teacher skips to the very top of the pyramid. The teacher asks, "What is this wordless picture book about?" The subject is written in one or two words in the top block of the pyramid.
7. Students agree upon a complete sentence that includes all the information in the pyramid so far. The sentence is derived by asking the

question, "What is the author saying about the subject?" The statement is put into the vacant tier. An example for the wordless picture book *Sunshine* (Ormerod, 1981) is shown in Figure 3.

Having the students walk through this process of deducing the main idea achieves two results. First, a complete text has been comprehended, including vocabulary and major concepts. Second, an outline has been formed from which a report or story can be written.

As a final activity, students should do some kind of writing exercise for fun such as light verse, pattern writing, or creative expression. The expressive mode will reinforce vocabulary, concept development, and comprehension through development of schema (McNeil, 1984). Examples of light verse and pattern writing follow along with an activity based upon story grammar that helps develop schema (see Figure 4).

At the end of this entire process, students will have been exposed to standard English in both oral and written forms. They will have also been exposed to ideas from other cultures in a pleasant, nonthreatening, and fun manner. Ideas can be exchanged and knowledge can be obtained without being confined by print.

Conclusion

Throughout the process of reading wordless picture books, many skills are taught and developed. Not only are reading and study skills emphasized, but also discussions about culture and social mores occur. Students with limited standard English capabilities are nonetheless able to learn concepts rapidly. The fear of text and the printed page is minimized using these types of books. By using wordless picture books, teachers can build motivation, skills, and success experiences with their linguistically and culturally different students.

Figure 3 Example of pyramid for the book *Sunshine* (Ormerod, 1981)

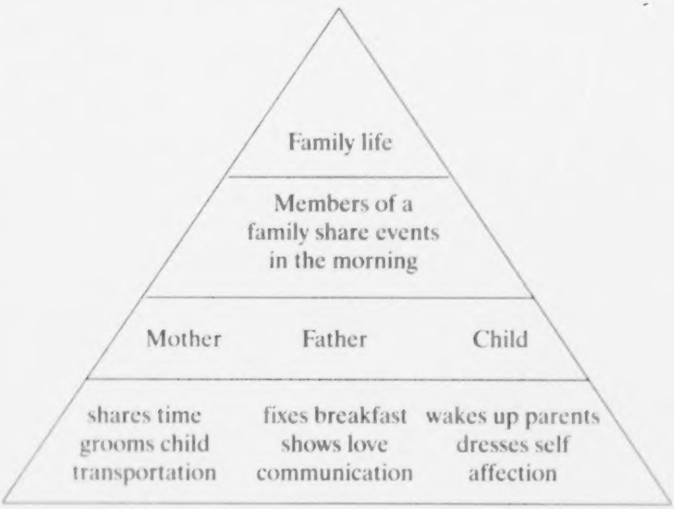

Family life
Members of a family share events in the morning
Mother
Father
Child
shares time
grooms child
transportation
fixes breakfast
shows love
communication
wakes up parents
dresses self
affection

Figure 4 Examples of writing

Little girl, little girl
What do you see?
I see daddy looking at me.

Daddy, Daddy
What do you see?
I see mother looking at me.

Little girl, little girl
What do you do?
I wake daddy
That's what I do.

Daddy, Daddy
What do you do?
I fix breakfast
That's what I do.

Mother, Mother
What do you do?
I love my family
That's what I do.

What is the opposite of love?
Being treated like a rug.

What is the opposite of family?
Having oneself only.

Suggested activity for creative expression based upon story grammar to develop schema (McNeil, 1984):
To begin, elicit answers from the students for the following questions and record their responses.

Setting: Where did the story take place? Who was the main character? What was the main character like?

Episode: What happened? How did the main character feel about what took place? What did the main character want next? What did the main character plan to do next? What action was completed by the main character?

Consequence: What happened when the main character did what he/she planned to do? Did the main character succeed or fail?

Reaction: "What did the main character learn from all this? What do we learn from this?" (p. 13)

After obtaining the preceding information have students use this information to write a story about the wordless picture book they have read.

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All the Angles of Idiom Instruction

Ann Baldwin May

Although all children may at times have trouble with idioms and figurative expressions, for students who are not native speakers of a language, they can be particularly difficult.

Several studies have examined idioms and figurative language in relationship to improving reading scores. Comprehension, or the lack of it. is a major problem. According to Edwards (1975), the greater the number of idioms in a reading passage, the greater the difficulty in comprehension.

Students, bilingual and monolingual alike, lack a clear idea of what metaphors, similes, and idioms mean and the purpose they fulfill. Correct use of idiomatic expressions is learned. Through a teacher's conscious effort, students can become familiar with these subtle language elements.

When bilingual students encounter a new idiomatic expression, most of them try to translate it directly into the native language. This causes misinterpretation at best and, at worst, complete lack of comprehension. By definition, an idiom must be understood as a whole. To break it down into parts destroys its meaning.

Students learning a second language are further hindered by limited vocabularies and by the inability to distinguish between shades of meaning. Their understanding of words is often vague (Tireman, 1955). An inexperienced reader can easily interpret a phrase as serious rather than humorous, thus changing the whole interpretation of a passage.

Toward a Solution

In trying to alleviate these comprehension problems, the following must be considered.

Practice pays off. Groesbeck (1961) found that monolingual grade school students were able to

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transfer their training in figurative language to the new expressions that they later met in their readers and social studies texts. Students can begin to incorporate meaningful expressions into their vocabularies when they have been given the time to dramatize, illustrate, and discuss specific idioms.

The context sets the stage. There is hardly a word or expression that has only one meaning and most have numerous meanings. Some idiomatic expressions are ambiguous; they can be taken literally or idiomatically. The reader is dependent upon the context to supply the clues as to which meaning is appropriate. This is especially important for the second language learner, who tends to establish a single concept for a new word. The teacher must help the student to become aware that each word has several meanings depending on the context.

Look before you leap. The teacher must anticipate potential points of confusion by noticing the context in which familiar and unfamiliar words are used. For example, *under* usually means "hidden and covered, beneath." But "Little Boy Blue" asks, "Where is the little boy who looks after the sheep?" and answers, "He's under the haystack fast asleep." Is the boy covered with hay, hidden by it? No! He is merely at the base of the haystack. This nursery rhyme might also cause the children to wonder if people really sleep fast or slow. It is no easy task to anticipate the pitfalls of idioms.

What you see isn't what you get. In basal reader word lists, the number of vocabulary items to be understood is unequal to the number of words listed. For example, the list contains the word *over.* Without seeing the context, the teacher would not know whether it meant *above* (over the table), *during* (over the weekend), was part of a larger phrase (all over), or was an idiomatic expression (over his head, as in "too difficult to understand"). So, although a word may appear only once on the list, it may be used several times with a different meaning each time. Only the context will provide the precise meaning.

Let me in on what you mean. The meanings of words are shaped by a culture's experience. A common word in one culture may not exist in another, or it may take on a different interpretation. In the American culture, a *breadwinner* is a person who earns the bulk of the money to support a family. The term is neither limited to a certain class of people nor is it derogatory. However, in some Spanish-speaking cultures the equivalent word *ganapan* refers to a wage earner from the lower classes, a poor worker or farmer barely able to support a family. Although these words seem similar, they are really quite different. These differences cannot be overlooked by reading teachers.

There is an appropriate time and place for every idiomatic expression. After students have learned expressions, it is difficult for them to determine their appropriate use. Is a particular idiom proper in formal written work, or is it slang used only in informal conversations? The teacher must provide guidance. Ideally, when the idiom is being studied, a guide to when to use it should be included. A numerical grading system is easy to use: 1 can be used in any conversation, 2 can be used among friends, and 3 can be used only in written work.

Don't confuse me with the facts. Although it is perhaps interesting to know the origin of an expression, this is not essential for comprehension. A teacher might be tempted to explain that *mad as a hatter* developed because hat makers used to go mad from the continual use of certain chemicals. Although this is an interesting fact, it is enough for the student to know that the phrase refers to someone who acts crazy. Along the same lines, some people stress knowing the biblical or mythological references of common expressions, for example, "the patience of Job." These might be interesting, but they are not necessary. The point of Job's great patience must be understood regardless of the original story.

Classroom Strategies

Idioms can be taught either as a long-term class project or in the continuous vocabulary program. Idioms should be discussed as they are met in reading and conversation. A class project on idioms during the first months of the school year will increase students' awareness of them throughout the year.

The teacher should present idiomatic expressions in a natural context whenever possible. Begin with those natural to the classroom situation. A teacher may tell some students they will "be in the doghouse" if they don't stop talking. Some school days are very difficult to plan for, such as those when classroom visitors are expected or school pictures are to be taken. If students ask when such events are to occur, the teacher can respond, "I don't know. We'll have to 'play it by ear'." Always explain and discuss these expressions.

A classroom discussion of idiomatic and figurative language may include the following topics. What does it mean? Can the same thing be said with different words? When is it appropriate to use it? Can new sentences or situations be made up that are appropriate for the use of a particular expression?

As students learn more and more expressions, make a chart listing them. Students can read the list, keeping themselves familiar with the expressions. They will develop a sense of accomplishment at having learned so many.

Many idioms are clichés. Although native speakers are usually discouraged from using clichés, second language learners must become familiar with them. For those with a limited vocabulary, clichés are fresh.

Figurative language lends itself to the study of poetry and creative language. Depending on their language level and age, students should be encouraged to write their own expressions. If they are not ready for this written exercise, it can be done orally.

As students begin to use the new expressions, they will certainly make mistakes. By listening to those mistakes, a teacher can learn a lot about the students' misconceptions and use the information to plan further instruction.

Idiomatic expressions are often left until last or completely forgotten in language arts programs. Part of the reason for this may be their complex and diverse nature. Yet, their importance and widespread use cannot be ignored. If teachers become more aware of idioms, they may begin to incorporate these items more often into their programs.

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Dialect Barriers to Reading Comprehension Revisited

Kenneth S. Goodman
Catherine Buck

Reflecting on my association with The Reading Teacher, *I recall that one of my first experiences with the journal was reading the influential article, "Dialect Barriers to Reading Comprehension Revisited" by Ken Goodman and Catherine Buck. I first read this article in 1976 as a doctoral research assistant reviewing published research on dialect diversity influences on literacy for the "vernacular issues" task group at the newly established Center for the Study of Reading, University of Illinois, USA.*

Goodman and Buck's article stood out from other articles published in the late 1960s and early 1970s on the role of language "differences" in learning to read. The authors demonstrated the naturalness of dialect miscues in the reading process. The authors argued that many of the problems vernacular-dialect-speaking students suffer in school are not the direct result of so-called dialect interference, but rather the result of negative attitudes (based on deficit theory) toward learners who speak vernacular dialects. Educators' rejection of learners' language and lack of understanding of how linguistic diversity influences the reading process were, and still are, some of the major contributing factors in many learners' difficulties in school. Teachers' respect for the language and culture of diverse learners is a necessary first step in facilitating "standard" English literacy.

Goodman and Buck (1973) is a sequel to Goodman (1965). I also remember reading and giving an oral class report on Goodman (1965) as an undergraduate student at Northeastern Illinois University in Chicago, during the 1972–1973 school year. That Goodman and Buck (1973) departed from Goodman's earlier hypothesis that language differences can be barriers to learning to read (Goodman, 1965) taught me that professional scholars reexamine their own thinking and are

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willing to reject their earlier hypotheses (just like readers make hypotheses and confirm or reject those hypotheses as reading continues).

These two articles, especially Goodman and Buck (1973), have influenced my first and later publications on this topic (e.g., Barnitz, 1980, 1988, 1995) and the courses on linguistic diversity and literacy instruction that I teach. As diversity issues are still most relevant today, Goodman and Buck (1973) should be revisited by all of us concerned about literacy in a linguistically diverse, multicultural society.

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Much has been written in recent years on the possible influence of dialect differences on learning to read. A considerable amount of the momentum for this interest comes from the indisputable fact that speakers of low-status dialects of English have much higher rates of reading failure than high-status dialect speakers. Analyses of contrasts between high- and low-status dialects suggest that the problem in reading acquisition *could* be due to mismatches between the dialect of the learner and that of the writer.

In fact, this writer hypothesized some years ago that there would be a direct relationship between the degree of dialect divergence and success in learning to read (Goodman, 1965). Because that article has been widely reprinted and the hypothesis widely quoted, it is doubly important that I report that evidence from several years of miscue research has convinced me that the hypothesis, at least as it applies to the range of dialects spoken by white and black urban Americans, is untrue.

In the article cited above, I concluded that of several alternatives the approach most likely to solve the reading problems of speakers of low-status dialects is the acceptance by teachers of the use in oral reading of the dialect of the learners.

The same data which causes me to abandon my own hypothesis causes me to believe even more strongly that the solution to reading problems of divergent speakers lies in changing the attitudes of teachers and writers of instructional programs toward the language of the learners.

New Hypothesis

I offer this new hypothesis: The only special disadvantage which speakers of low-status dialects suffer in learning to read is one imposed by teachers and schools. Rejection of their dialects and educators' confusion of linguistic difference with linguistic deficiency interferes with the natural process by which reading is acquired and undermines the linguistic self-confidence of divergent speakers.

Simply speaking, the disadvantage of the divergent speaker, black or white, comes from linguistic discrimination. Instruction based on rejection of linguistic difference is the core of the problem.

The Evidence

For almost 10 years my associates and I have been studying the reading process among urban kids in the Detroit, Michigan, area. The oral miscues of subjects reading a complete selection, which they haven't seen before and which is sometimes difficult for them, are analyzed in order to get at the reading process. A miscue is any observed response (OR),that differs from the expected response (ER) to the text. Because of the location of the research project, somewhat more than half the subjects in our studies are black.

Early in our research we became aware that the expected response in oral reading is not an exact single response but a range of responses that depends on variability among the subjects in their oral language. Dialect differences must certainly be considered in judging whether a particular response (OR) is within the expected range. But even within dialects, considerable variation must be expected. In our area, for example, the words *roof* and *root* have two common pronunciations. Both are to be expected. At one point we discovered that *with'm* was the most likely response to both printed phrases: *with them* and *with him* for all readers, all races, and all classes.

With our insights into the variability in ERs we became aware that all dialect difference that was purely phonological (a matter of pronunciation alone) was within the expected range for the readers being studied. What should one expect a reader to report orally in response to printed *help them* if he would in his everyday speech normally say *he'p dem*? Clearly, if he says in reading what he would say in speaking, he is producing an expected response. In fact, there might be more suspicion that a standardized pronunciation, unnatural to the speaker, might be a source of confusion. If he says *help*, is he aware that it's an alternate for his *he'p*?

We no longer even count as a miscue any OR that is simply a phonological variant in the reader's dialect of the printed word or phrase. What that means is that only miscues that involve inflection (mostly word endings), grammar, or vocabulary will be found in our data.

Before leaving this matter of phonological dialect differences, I want to emphasize that teachers have tended to confuse attempts to change the speech of young learners with teaching them to read. This is, of course, not wholly the fault of teachers. The basal readers and other materials the teacher uses have frequently ignored all dialect difference. Exercises are provided in which *pin* and *pen*, for example, are treated as if they have contrasting vowel sounds. They do in some dialects, mine for one. But they don't in many others. Teaching pupils who do not use this difference in their dialects to hear and produce it (a more difficult task) can have no effect on their learning to read except to introduce discomfort, uncertainty, and lack of linguistic confidence.

Furthermore, spelling is standardized across dialects of English. *Almond* is the spelling regardless of which of the five or more common pronunciations your dialect uses. (with /l/ or without, with initial vowel /æ/ or /a/ or /c/). Phonics programs based on single acceptable pronunciations are simply ethnocentric. The author of the program rejects everything that varies from his own speech.

Urban kids who speak low-status dialects have a linguistic advantage over speakers of higher-status dialects, which can work for them in learning to read if teachers are aware of it. They build an ability to understand the dialects of others in their community. This acquisition of receptive control over other people's dialects is a simple matter of survival. If you don't understand what teachers, policemen, store clerks, TV announcers, and other high-status people are saying, you can be in big trouble. This does not mean that divergent speakers learn to talk like the teacher; that involves productive control. But it does mean that what they find in print is not as hard to deal with for them as we once thought. Sims demonstrated this in her study of inner-city black English speakers (Sims, 1972).

Dialect-involved miscues represent a shift on the part of the reader to a surface representation that fits his own dialect rather than the writer's. Just as the sounds may shift, there may also be a shift involving a different rule for generating the surface structure from the deep structure—for example, the deletion of an *-ed* past tense morpheme because the reader's dialect doesn't require one. Or it may involve a dialect shift in choice of vocabulary, as when the reader prefers *headlights* to the writer's *headlamps*.

In a recently completed study of readers at low-, average-, and high-proficiency levels in second, fourth, sixth, eighth, and tenth grades (Goodman & Burke, 1973), we found that no reader in our study is totally consistent in these dialect-based shifts. Readers who frequently eliminate *-ed* endings in their readings will sometimes produce them. This is consistent with the findings of recent urban socioeconomic dialect studies, including that of Shuy and his associates in the Detroit area (Wolfram, 1969).

These dialect studies show that dialect contrasts are not sharp and discrete among urban speakers, but show up more as a matter of preferences for certain alternatives.

In our research, dialect variations among the subjects are considerable between and within racial groups. Only a small number of subjects in the study, however, produce any notable percentage of miscues involving dialect. Furthermore, in every grade-proficiency group but four (10LA, 8L, 6L, 4A) there are some subjects with no dialect miscues. (Groups of 5 to 6 subjects are designated by grade and level—for instance, 10LA means low-average tenth graders, 6L are low sixth graders.) Two groups (4H, 8H) have no subjects that produced dialect miscues. Only two subjects in the 2H, 10H, and 4A groups show dialect miscues.

All but one of the subjects with more than 10 percent dialect miscues are black. But there are many black subjects with few dialect miscues and others with none. And there are white subjects with dialect-involved miscues.

Seven subjects among the total of 94 in this research showed more than 20% dialect-involved miscues. All are black. These are found in groups as follows:

2HA: 1–31%
4A: 1–28%
6A: 1–23%
6L: 2–30%, 21%
8L: 1–25%
10L: 1–28%

These can be seen to be well distributed, except that none are in any high groups. Black speakers in the high-proficiency groups tend to do little dialect shifting in their miscues.

Those subjects with high-dialect involvement tend to be more consistent in oral reading in using certain features of a black English dialect. No subject whose oral speech shows these features is entirely consistent in using them in oral reading, but these subjects come closest.

By far the most common kind of dialect shift involves changes in inflectional endings. Of seven relatively frequent types of dialect-involved miscues, the first four involve inflectional suffixes, one involves irregular verb forms, one involves *be* forms, and the seventh involves confusion over base forms with *-ed* suffix.

The dialect features that occur most commonly are:

1. Use of null form of past tense morpheme: look/looked, call/called, wreck/wrecked, love/loved, pound/pounded, help/helped, use/used.
2. Use of null form of plural noun morpheme: thing/things, work/works, story/stories, prize/prizes.
3. Use of null form for third person singular verbs: look/looks, work/works, hide/hides.
4. Use of null form for possessives: Freddie/Freddie's, Mr. Vine/Mr. Vine's, one/one's, it/its.
5. Regular present for past irregular forms: run/ran, have/had, keep/kept, do/did.
6. *Be* form substitution and deletion: was/were, is/are, we/we're, he be talking/he'd been talking.
7. Some readers tend to overcompensate for their tendency to delete *-ed* with a resulting confusion over past tense forms. This pro-

duced: likeded/liked, helpeded/helped, stoppeded/stopped.

The dialect miscues listed above are much more common than more complex transformations of grammar or substitutions of preferred terms. In fact, these other kinds of dialect miscues, though they occur, must be considered rare.

Here are some examples of less common miscues with dialect involvement:

OR It my little monkey here.
ER Is my little monkey here?
OR ...out loud.
ER ...aloud.
OR We got to tell.
ER We've got to tell.
OR A word what sounded good.
ER A word that sounded good.
OR His smiling muscle came
ER His smiling muscle began to twitch again.
OR He didn't have to worry.
ER He was not to worry.
OR hisself
ER himself
OR Classes left out.
ER Classes let out.

Fortuitously, we chose one story for the study written by a British author which created dialect mismatch for all subjects who read it and shed a light on the phenomenon of dialect shift from a different direction. *Poison*, a story by the British author Roald Dahl, provided many uncommon uses of language for Americans. It was read by 8H, 10LA, 10HA, and 10H groups.

If the author himself had been the researcher listening to the retelling of his own story, he no doubt would have noted many examples to support the fact that the readers were speakers of a dialect other than his own. But Roald Dahl did not listen. American researchers did, and what they heard corresponded to their own system.

1. OR I switched off the *headlights.*
   ER I switched off the *headlamps* of the car.
2. OR Stop. Wait a *minute.*
   ER Stop. Wait a *moment*, Timer.
3. OR Look, could you come *around.*
   ER Look, could you come *round* at once?

These examples are produced not just by one reader, but by many and with dependability. Six of 21 readers substitute *lights* for *lamps*. Twelve say *minute* instead of *moment*. Fifteen prefer to say *around* instead of *round*. The phonological systems of the readers and the author, of course, differ far more radically than either their grammatical systems or their choices of lexical items for the same ideas.

The author tends to use certain adverbs without *-ly* that our American subjects add to fit the constraints of their dialects. His *quick* is read as *quickly* 12 times by our readers. (Do it quick.) *Quiet* (lying very quiet) is less of a problem, but it is changed to *quietly* twice.

Old "usage" problems pop up in this story including the grammar book *lie-lay* bugaboo. Five times *lying* is changed to *laying*. *Laid* for *lay* occurs twice.

British idiom leads to some other difficulties: This sentence, "It looked like a bad go of malaria," produces eight miscues. Only one directly involves *go* but four readers change the following word *of*. It becomes *from*, *on*, and *for* (twice). Two miscues involve *it*. One miscues on *malaria*.

"He rang off," a British alternate for hung up, produces four miscues. Two move to *ran off*.

Clearly, written English is not a single dialect and the possibility of producing dialect-involved miscues depends on the writer as well as the reader.

Shifts in dialect in oral reading are less likely to occur than might be predicted from the speech of the readers.

To get a comparison, we listened to the electronically recorded retelling of the story by each reader who produced *no* dialect-involved miscues.

The retellings of those subjects who make no dialect miscues while reading reveal several facts of great interest. Of the 30 in this group, 12 use a dialect other than the author's in recounting their own versions of the stories. These readers include the full range of grade and level from the 2H reader who describes the main character of a story by saying: "Freddie, he was thinking to be a scientist" to the 10L reader who explained, "Then Peggy was hungry because she didn't get no food." And these readers are not all black youngsters. A white 4H reader, who reads with no dialect miscues, explains to the researcher that the baby brother Andrew is very unusual because: "He said all them big words."

Unfortunately, the baby is not... "A baby just like ordinaries baby...who cries and says words that doesn't, you know, that ain't true. Like da-da."

And discovering this apparent deception, "Mr. Barnaberry asked him what was the idea." The numerous subjects with no dialect-involved miscues, particularly among those children ranked "high," does not mean that we have a group of white speakers who use standard English only. Some of the most interesting examples of bidialectalism in retelling come from proficient black readers who show no dialect miscues in oral reading. They produce these examples of *embedded questions*:

1. They asked Harry did he really see it in the first place.
2. He called the doctor a few names and asked him was he calling him a liar.

alternate verbal constructions:

1. If I had wrote it, I'd have done it that way.
2. Andrew had bend over the crib.
3. He say it might be better to forget about birthdays.

and *double negatives*:

1. He said "physiolical" and no baby never said that before.
2. He didn't do nothing right there.

From average readers come these examples:

1. Peggy was fighting with them and she surprise them and knock the coyote away from Chip and she start fighting with them.
2. So then that boy took out a dictionary and turned to the S's and start reading.

and from readers ranked *low* we find these:

1. Then one of the men said "Hold it! That wasn't no coyote."
2. He hurt hisself or something.
3. He ain't—he hasn't ever ate a sheep before.

Conclusions

Shifts from the author's to the reader's dialect in oral reading occur among most of the readers in our study. They are never entirely consistent: The reader who tends not to produce *-ed* forms will produce some. Evidence of dialect in oral reading is less likely than in the subject's oral retelling; in fact, some readers with no dialect-involved miscues show frequent divergent dialect instances in retelling.

Less proficient readers show more dialect involvement, but we have no clear cause-effect evidence. Our study shows that black speakers of low-status dialects can be proficient readers. It does not show that dialect difference or dialect rejection is *not* a cause of difficulty in learning to read. But the most important thing to understand about dialect is that dialect-involved miscues do not interfere with the reading process or the construction of meaning, since they move to the reader's own language.

Low-status urban speakers learn to understand dialects other than their own in the larger community—that is, they acquire receptive control over these dialects, though they may never change the way they speak.

The readers in our study appear to have receptive control of the dialect of the author, judging by their own dialect, and to process forms foreign to their own dialects as they read.

What, however, would be the result of teacher rejection of the dialect-related miscues? We have one example in the tendency of readers to insert /ed/ endings on all past tense forms: *smileded, drownded, askeded*. This is the result of teachers admonishing readers to "be sure and sound out the ends of words." The unnaturalness results from the reader attempting to produce forms inconsistent with his own dialect rules.

In fact, rejection or correction by the teacher of any dialect-based miscue moves the reader away from using his own linguistic competence to get to meaning toward a closer correspondence to the teacher's expected response to the text. Word for word accuracy, in a narrow sense, becomes the goal, rather than meaning.

We know that highly proficient readers produce few dialect-based miscues while reading with high comprehension. This has to be the result of increased receptive control over the high-status dialect.

But the appearance of greater accuracy is the result of proficient reading and not its cause. In encouraging divergent speakers to use their language competence, both receptive and productive, and accepting their dialect-based miscues, we minimize the effect of dialect differences. In rejecting their dialects we maximize the effect.

Rejection, then, and not dialect differences, is the problem educators must overcome to remove the school imposed disadvantage.

Author Notes

The data reported in this article come from a study by Kenneth S. Goodman and Carolyn Burke: *Theoretically Based Studies of Patterns of Miscues in Oral Reading Performance* (USOE Project 9-0375). Points of view or opinions do not necessarily represent official United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare position or policy.

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PART FOUR

Using Writing to Develop Reading

Mary Anne Doyle

This part presents five articles and suggests additional sources that detail instructional strategies for utilizing writing activities to develop reading competence with students of diverse linguistic backgrounds. The authors' recommendations reflect understandings of the interrelatedness of the language arts, more specifically the reading-writing connection. The purpose of this commentary is to highlight theoretical understandings of literacy development that are shared by these authors and to comment on the specific instructional strategies they offer. The understandings may be viewed in terms of learner considerations, theories of literacy development, the reading-writing connection, and using writing to develop reading. For the purpose of this commentary, linguistically diverse learners include both those students who speak a dialect differing from standard English as well as learners for whom English is a second language.

Learner considerations. Learners of diverse linguistic backgrounds enter our schools with an oral language resulting from their unique opportunities to learn. Their language and knowledge backgrounds (i.e., schemata) reflect their cultures and experiences, and both signify massive amounts of learning. As teachers, we must be assured that the knowledge, complex language, and literacy skills that children come with reflect sophisticated abilities to learn. We must respect children for their accomplishments and recognize their potential. This suggests that expectations for all learners remain high; children will be successful if classroom conditions are appropriate.

Students of differing cultural heritages benefit from supportive teachers who display appreciation of cultural diversity. In addition to affirming individuals, teachers who involve students in activities that reflect their cultures allow students to draw on existing background knowledge. Because background knowledge is a powerful source of comprehension and composition (Cazden, 1988), this is a critical consideration in creating successful reading and writing experiences for linguistically diverse learners.

The articles in Part Four present appropriate ways to connect literacy instruction to students' prior knowledge. JoAnn Carter and Sigrid Renner offer one excellent example. They demonstrate the affirmation of attitudes and concern for relevant content by introducing traditional tales and inviting elders from the children's community to share stories orally in preparation for a writing activity. Likewise, Timothy Shanahan, Bonita Robinson, and Mary Schneider incorporate their students' cultural heritages through reading and writing activities. These authors exemplify awareness of how to structure activities that draw on their students' strengths and existing knowledge. These considerations promote students' ownership of literacy (Au, 1997), which leads to increased motivation and successful engagement in literacy activities.

Theories of literacy development. A main premise adopted by the authors in this part is that theories of language acquisition and literacy development applied to native speakers of English are appropriate for second language learners. The definitions of literacy and the accompanying recommendations for instruction reflect "views of reading and writing as cognitive, linguistic, cultural, social processes" (Barnitz, 1997, p. 264). Learners "actively construct meaning by using their emerging linguistic knowledge in addition to their social and cultural world knowledge" (p. 264). (See also Barnitz, this volume.)

Related understandings are that literacy in second language learning takes place as in the first—globally, rather than linearly (Rigg & Allen, 1989). This suggests the efficacy of engaging learners in the full range of reading and writing activities as early as possible (Fitzgerald, 1993).

Teachers can support students as they engage in these meaningful reading and writing activities. Owen Boyle and Suzanne Peregoy present some strategies that enable this support (i.e., scaffolding). Richard Sinatra and his colleagues show how teachers can facilitate better comprehension of all learners by helping students to create visual images. In both cases, the recommended strategies support the learners' active engagement in the construction of meaning.

Reading-writing connections. Research confirms the value and importance of linking reading and writing experiences for learners at all stages of development. As Vacca, Vacca, and Gove (1995, p. 148) note, "Both are language and experience based, both require active involvement from language learners, and both must be viewed as acts of making meaning for communication." This is true for both native and second language learners.

Reading and writing are mutually supportive. In fact, because oral language, listening, reading, and writing develop concurrently, there is no need to delay the introduction of writing while waiting for a specific level of oral language or reading proficiency to emerge. Rather, opportunities to engage learners in writing reinforce understandings needed for reading (Clay, 1975). And writing activities that occur in relation to specific readings contribute to learner engagement and enhanced comprehension (Tierney & Shanahan, 1991). Consequently, all learners should be immersed in reading and writing from the onset of literacy instruction (Fitzgerald, 1993).

Again, this part presents some sound suggestions for those wanting to provide this immersion. Carter and Renner suggest having students create their own Big Books, and Shanahan and his colleagues explain how middle school students can be directed toward publishing a resolution in a local newspaper. Martha Dolly describes how to use dialogue journals to communicate with older students. In all settings, the students' successes result from appropriate preparation and modeling, and the communication of personal meaning is central.

Using writing to develop reading. All learners can profitably engage in writing at all stages of development. In fact, Clay (1975) provides documentation that the learning and discovery of skills needed for reading occur during the earliest stages of writing. She reports that writing activities provide learners with opportunities to acquire important concepts of print including how to attend and orient to print, how to visually analyze letters and words, what to study in a word so that it can be reproduced, and how to direct one's behavior to successfully write words and sentences. She also notes that learners focus on all levels of the language hierarchy (e.g., letters, words, and sentences) when writing.

Several writing techniques that can be used to help learners compose and comprehend are presented in this part. Boyle and Peregoy suggest introducing story maps as one appropriate scaffold. Additional ideas are offered by Sinatra et al. who describe the use of visual images—pictures, film, art, and graphic design included. Dolly advocates the use of dialogue journals as yet another way to provide students with meaningful written exchanges while serving as a vehicle for teachers to model appropriate writing conventions and demonstrate that they value individual students at the same time.

As children engage in frequent writing experiences, they gain a reading and writing vocabulary and control of sentence and story structures that facilitate both comprehension and composition. Indeed, when writing activities are linked to literature selections read to or by learners, the text structures serve as writing models.

Writing in connection with reading needs to include a range of forms. Examples include writing personal reflections, summarizing important content, retelling stories, and creating text-based innovations. Carter and Renner describe techniques for retelling traditional stories or creating tales. Dolly advocates dialogue writing. Shanahan et al. focus on writing for the newspaper, and Sinatra et al. offer some techniques for developing expository forms of writing.

Summary. The articles that comprise Part Four offer effective strategies for creating discourse communities that value and support culturally diverse learners. Integrated language arts activities emanating from culturally relevant experiences are demonstrated. Writing activities that contribute to reading development are described, and suggestions for scaffolding students' learning are presented. The techniques allow learners to actively construct language and literacy competencies through engagement in relevant social contexts.

The promise of these theoretically sound suggestions represents the expected goals of literacy education for all students. The anticipated outcome is literate individuals empowered to pursue reading and writing for personal goals, to realize their full potential in academic and career settings, and to participate fully in our society. Realization of these goals represents significant accomplishments for both teachers and students, and the effects are immeasurable.

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Literacy Scaffolds: Strategies for First- and Second-Language Readers and Writers

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When giving workshops, preparing preservice teachers, and presenting at conferences, we are frequently asked "How can I promote literacy success for my second-language learners *and* mainstream students alike?" To formulate an answer, we observed classrooms, surveyed books and articles, and made note of the most successful reading and writing activities used with second-language children. We then looked for characteristics these activities held in common. To reflect the combination of our observations with research on language and literacy acquisition, we use the term *literacy scaffolds* to describe temporary frameworks that offer students immediate access to the meanings and pleasure of print. As we examined our model, we saw that it applied to both first- and second-language literacy development.

In this chapter, we define our notion of literacy scaffold, explain why literacy scaffolding applies to both first- and second-language learners, and offer criteria for teachers to apply in developing scaffolds. We illustrate the model with scaffolding activities we have used with elementary school children, emphasizing the kinds of social contexts that optimize learning. In the examples, we show how to integrate first- and second-language children in collaborative groups to promote literacy for both (Cohen, 1986; Kagen, 1986).

What Is a Scaffold?

In language acquisition research, *scaffolding* refers to special ways adults may elaborate and expand upon children's early attempts to use language, thereby facilitating effective communication at a level somewhat beyond the child's actual linguistic capability (Bruner, 1978; Cazden, 1980). For example, a young child may exclaim,

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"Mommy, birdie!" to which the mother replies, "Yes, there's a bird outside on the fence, isn't there?" In her reply, the mother demonstrates her understanding of the child's meaning while elaborating and expanding the child's topic. In so doing, she provides a scaffold, unconsciously modeling linguistic and conversational patterns through natural social interactions with the child.

Storybook reading is another communication event that provides a scaffold by modeling language and story patterns through a pleasurable experience shared with the child by a parent, sibling, teacher, or friend. Once integrated, those patterns provide the basis for comprehending other stories and for telling and writing them as well. Of utmost importance, learning is embedded within natural social interactions aimed at sharing communication and negotiating meaning. Through such collaboration, the story reader facilitates the child's movement to the next level of development (Vygotsky, 1962) by engaging the child in a literacy event that exceeds the child's current capability if unassisted.

The application of the scaffolding notion to classroom literacy events is a logical one, given a view of reading and writing as natural activities aimed at communication (Applebee & Langer, 1983). In fact, one essential characteristic of literacy scaffolds is the use of natural, whole texts for purposeful communication. The power of whole language texts and whole language activities in general lies with the fact that they provide multiple cues from which to draw meaning: graphophonic, syntactic, and semantic as well as situational and contextual (Goodman, 1986). When English proficiency is limited, each additional cue increases a child's chances of making sense of print. Moreover, by focusing on meaning, whole language activities give children a self-motivated purpose for reading and writing, boosting comprehension and sustaining interest in composing. The use of whole language thus makes scaffolding activities good for all children, but essential for second-language learners as they develop both oral and literate proficiency in their new language (Hudelson, 1989).

Comparison of First- and Second-Language Reading and Writing

For literacy development, the use of similar activities for both first- and second-language learners is supported by current research documenting that reading and writing processes are essentially similar for both groups. For example, second-language readers make use of graphic, syntactic, and semantic cues provided in a text to predict and confirm meaning, much as first-language readers do (Clarke, 1980; Cziko, 1978, 1980; Goodman & Goodman, 1978). In addition, first- and second-language readers alike make use of their background knowledge to construct meaning (Anderson & Pearson, 1984; Carrell, 1988).

Although reading processes are similar for first- and second-language readers, two special characteristics of second-language learners may make comprehension slower and more arduous: limited second-language proficiency (Clark, 1980; Cziko, 1980) and background knowledge and experiences that do not correspond to the content of typical school texts (Carrell & Eisterhold, 1988). By building pertinent background knowledge prior to reading, teachers can help children overcome some of the effects of limited second-language knowledge (Hudson, 1982; Johnson, 1981). Similarly, the repetition of language patterns in meaningful literacy activities alleviates the effects of limited language proficiency, thereby supporting reading development for second-language learners (Flores, Garcia, Gonzalez, Hidalgo, Kaczmarek, & Romero, 1985).

First- and second-language learners also exhibit similar processes in writing development. For example, second-language learners make use of their budding knowledge of English as they create texts for different audiences and purposes, just as first-language writers do (Ammon, 1985; Edelsky, 1981a, 1981b). As they develop control over the language, their writing gradually begins to approximate standard English (Hudelson, 1986). In addition, at the early stages children writing in a second language support their efforts with drawings (Hudelson, 1984) just as their first-language counterparts do (Dyson, 1982). Moreover, if literate in the first language, second-language learners are apt to show a sophisticated understanding of the nature and functions of print as well as confidence in their ability to produce and comprehend text in their new language (Hudelson, 1987).

Finally, research demonstrates that students can profitably engage in reading and writing in their second language well before they have gained full control over the phonological, syntactic, and semantic systems of spoken English (Goodman, Goodman, & Flores, 1978; Hudelson, 1984; Peregoy, in press). In fact, reading in a second language provides an excellent source of input for further second-language development (Elley & Mangubhai, 1983; Krashen, 1982), and writing provides valuable second-language practice as well.

Characteristics of Literacy Scaffolds

Five criteria define the literacy scaffold model:

1. Literacy scaffolds are applied to reading and writing activities aimed at functional, meaningful communication found in whole texts, such as stories, poems, reports, and recipes.
2. Literacy scaffolds make use of language and discourse patterns that repeat themselves and are therefore predictable.
3. Literacy scaffolds provide a model, offered by the teacher or by peers, for comprehending and producing particular written language patterns.
4. Literacy scaffolds support students in comprehending and producing written language at a level slightly beyond their competence in the absence of the scaffold.
5. Literacy scaffolds are temporary and may be dispensed with when the student is ready to work without them.

This model can be applied by teachers to help students develop literacy abilities in either their first or second language. We illustrate literacy scaffolds of two varieties: those that make use of sentence patterns and those that make use of discourse patterns.

Literacy Scaffolds That Make Use of Sentence Patterns

We define sentence patterns as language patterns that generate questions, statements, or commands. The use of sentence pattern activities is well researched and has proven effective with first-language learners both as a singular technique (Bridge & Burton, 1982; Rhodes, 1979) and as an adjunct to language experience stories (Cunningham, 1979). Children who are beginning to learn a second language can be assisted through the use of sentence patterns as well (Dixon & Nessel, 1983; Heald-Taylor, 1986; Flores et al., 1985; Tinajero & Calderon, 1988). For these children, sentence pattern scaffolds have the added advantage of involving the child in a meaningful literacy event while requiring minimal second-language proficiency.

Patterned Reading and Writing

Patterned reading and writing are sentence-level scaffolds that make use of repeated phrases, refrains, and sometimes rhymes (Heald-

Taylor, 1987). For both first- and second-language learners, the predictable patterns allow beginning readers and writers to become immediately involved in a literacy event. One excellent resource for sentence-level writing scaffolds is Kenneth Koch's *Wishes, Lies and Dreams* (1970). Full of sentence patterns that serve as springboards for writing, the book is replete with delightful poems written by Koch's multilingual students. Typically, children write their own poems based on the patterns, sharing them with one another in peer editing groups and in classroom publications. Two Spanish-speaking ESL second graders we worked with created the following poems using the sentence patterns "I used to be…, but now I am…" and "I am the one who…." The repetition of the patterns lends a poetic quality to the full piece of writing.

Juan: I used to be a baby.
But now I am really big.
I used to be a karate ninja.
But now I am an orange belt.

Chabela: I am the one who like my teacher.
I am the one who gots new shoes.
I am the one who take care the baby.
I am the one who plays on the swings.

To supplement poetry writing and reading, many teachers also introduce children to predictable literature. Flores et al. (1985) and Heald-Taylor (1986) offer lists of patterned and predictable books they have found effective with second-language children, including familiar favorites by authors such as Bill Martin, Eric Carle, and Mary Ann Hoberman. After hearing a story several times, children use pattern books as models for creating, publishing, and sharing their first books. Typically, children use the given patterns several times before they are ready to experiment with their own patterns and poems. Thus, the pattern offers a scaffold students abandon naturally when no longer needed.

Literacy Scaffolds That Make Use of Discourse Patterns

A discourse scaffold makes use of language beyond the sentence level, focusing on discourse patterns or structures such as whole stories or essays. Research suggests that assisting readers with discourse structures enhances comprehension (Bartlett, 1978; Fitzgerald & Spiegel, 1983). The two scaffolding strategies below—the directed reading-thinking activity (DRTA) and story mapping—offer such assistance. DRTA provides an effective reading model for both novice and more mature readers (Davidson, 1970; Petre, 1970; Shepherd, 1978; Stauffer & Harrell, 1975). In addition, DRTA is recommended for second-language learners (Carrell, 1988; Sutton, 1989; Tinajero & Calderon, 1988). Similarly, story mapping teaches story structure to children and helps them make predictions, enhancing comprehension and retention for both first-language children (Beck & McKeown, 1981; Davis & McPherson, 1989; Reutzel & Fawson, 1989; Thorndyke, 1977) and second-language children (Heald-Taylor, 1987; Northcutt & Watson, 1986; Tinajero & Calderon, 1988).

DRTA

The DRTA provides a scaffold of how experienced readers ask questions of a text and predict what will happen next. Using DRTA, the teacher asks questions at different logical points throughout the story, guiding children to make predictions and then to monitor their predictions as subsequent text is provided. The teacher usually asks more questions at the beginning of the activity, encouraging children to generate their own questions as the story proceeds. Eventually, students may incorporate the DRTA questioning procedure as a natural part of their independent reading.

The following example shows how Ms. Dee, a third-grade teacher, adapted the DRTA process in a whole-class activity. Ms. Dee often reads stories to her whole class, which includes seven immigrant children from Cambodia, Vietnam, and Mexico. When conducting a whole-class DRTA, she prepares her students by discussing the story topic prior to reading, helping all students relate it to their own experiences. Because she chooses stories related to a theme in her integrated curriculum, background information is fresh in the students' minds. Such preparation is helpful to all students, but essential for limited English proficient children with diverse cultural experiences. The story, "The Magician's Apprentice," pertained to her theme, "The World of Magic."

Ms. Dee: What do you expect to find in a story titled "The Magician's Apprentice"?
Angela: It's about a magician.
Montha: He does tricks?
Ms. Dee: Who knows what an apprentice is?
Joey: Like Mickey Mouse in the cartoon?
Ms. Dee: Yes! Do any of you know what "The Sorcerer's Apprentice" was? [Since more of the children did not seem to know the word *apprentice*, the teacher elaborated.] Yes, an apprentice is someone who is just learning how to do something. So what do you think this story is going to be about?
Joey: A magician!
Tran: A boy will learn magic tricks.
Marina: A lady she gonna disappear.
Ms. Dee: Well, listen to the story and we'll find out.

In this example, Ms. Dee allows free response from any child who wishes to make a prediction. She does not call on particular children, but allows them to answer or to remain silent. Furthermore, she accepts all predictions without judgment. When a second-language child uses English forms that are not grammatical, the teacher attends to the child's message without correcting grammar or pronunciation. Sometimes, if the child is hard to understand, she repeats her sense of the meaning to verify and clarify it for the rest of the class.

To assist her second-language students in comprehension during the DRTA, Ms. Dee observes their reactions to the story and, if necessary, briefly paraphrases the text while pointing to the pictures. Then she moves along to keep the pace needed for a whole-group activity. Because students have the chance to read the book later themselves, she does not belabor her concern for her second-language learners during the DRTA. In this way, they are not singled out or embarrassed during the whole-group activity. They will get further attention during individual and small-group work, as will other students in the class.

Story Mapping

Story mapping provides a discourse scaffold because it helps children use story grammar for comprehension and composing (Boyle, 1983; Buckley & Boyle, 1981; Pearson, 1982). Many children's stories have a basic skeletal structure consisting of a major character or two, a goal the character wishes to achieve, an obstacle, and a resolution of the conflict between the goal and the obstacle. Schmidt (n.d.) incorporates this structure into the simple four-part map shown in the Figure, which can help students focus their attention on important parts of a story. As they become more skillful at story mapping, they may use more complex mapping procedures (e.g., Beck & McKeown, 1981; Pearson, 1982; Ruddell & Boyle, 1989).

Another teacher, Ms. Luera, introduced the story mapping strategy to her Spanish-speaking ESL students and other second graders by mapping familiar fairy tales at the chalkboard. Next she read "Little Red Riding Hood" aloud and

Figure Story map framework

SOMEONE	WANTS	BUT	SO

asked the class to map it using the story-map framework.

Then first- and second-language students worked together in small groups to create someone/wants/but/so maps based on different story characters. One group first chose the Wolf as the character, producing "The Wolf/wanted to eat Little Red Riding Hood/but the woodcutter killed him/so Little Red lived happily ever after." Another group created "Little Red Riding Hood/wanted to visit grandma/but the wolf ate grandma/so the man killed the wolf." As a follow-up activity, each child illustrated the four story-map frames on a blank sheet of paper folded twice to make four sections. Later they shared their illustrated maps with others, summarizing their stories orally and comparing different versions. Later still Ms. Luera introduced fairy tales from several different cultures.

To assist her second-language learners, Ms. Luera introduced the activity with the whole class first and then divided the children into collaborative groups to provide peer interaction and support from more advanced English speakers. Thus assistance was provided by the teacher and peers before individual performance was required. By allowing her students to illustrate their maps, she provided a nonlinguistic channel for story comprehension and memory.

In the preceding examples, teachers assist second-language learners in several ways. First, they carefully include their second-language learners in the social community of the whole class, helping all students accept themselves and each other. Second, they are conscious of speaking clearly, paraphrasing where necessary, and supporting their talk through nonlinguistic means such as pictures, gestures, graphic organizers, and other visuals. Similarly, they encourage their students to supplement oral and written communication with dramatization and art. As their second-language learners begin to talk and write, these teachers listen beyond the natural errors in grammar and pronunciation and respond to the message their students are trying to convey. Finally, the teachers evaluate their students' understanding frequently but unobtrusively.

Conclusion

When we return to schools where literacy scaffolds are used with collaborative groups, we find classrooms with a renewed enthusiasm for children's ability to read and write. Teachers often share with us other activities such as language experience stories and dialogue journals that fit the scaffolding criteria. They also share strategies they have adapted using the criteria.

These teachers have found that scaffolding activities facilitate successful encounters with print, make reading a joy from the beginning, and show children early on that they can learn to read and write. Because literacy scaffolds put whole language to work for children, because they model generative language patterns, and because they stretch children's competence, literacy scaffolds enhance reading and writing for first- and second-language learners alike.

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Expressing Ethnic Identity Through Brown-Bag Big Books

JoAnn M. Carter
Sigrid M. Renner

The availability of reading and other instructional materials relevant to non-Anglo students in the United States continues to pose problems for those teaching in culturally diverse settings. One answer lies in merging whole language methodology with the power of traditional tales and stories from students' cultural or ethnic groups. We have found a medium that seems to be particularly effective for doing this: Big Books constructed from brown paper bags on which students compose personal stories or traditional tales. This approach effectively links reading and writing and enhances personal growth.

Stories are powerful. Family and cultural stories help us define ourselves and build bridges to others. They help us develop self-esteem, pride in our families, our cultural or ethnic heritage, and our identities (Stone, 1988; Zeitlin, Kotkin, & Baker, 1982). Nurturing such growth is important for all children but particularly important for minority children who must find a place both in their own and in the dominant culture. Our recent experiences in schools serving a large number of Native American students confirm the value of using traditional culture-specific stories in the curriculum. It is our observation that the Anglo-, Hispanic-, African-, and Asian American children in our groups also gain personally and collectively when they tell their own stories.

The brown-paper-bag Big Books we construct enhance traditional tales and stories. The somewhat wrinkled, tough, brown grocery bag proves to be a nonintimidating medium for the tales. The stories look as if they are old, well-preserved text. The Figure provides complete instructions for the construction of these books.

Involvement and enthusiasm run high when children embark on a paper-bag Big Book project. It is important for teachers to apply writing

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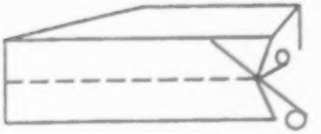
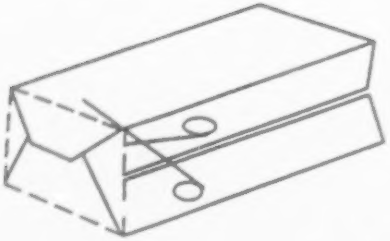
Any large paper grocery bag can be used to make a Big Book. Even those with advertising on the outside are useful.

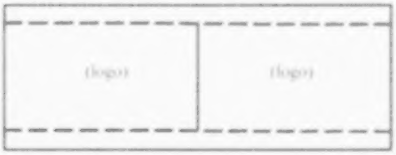
1. Using the middle fold on the side as a cutting guide, cut down one side.





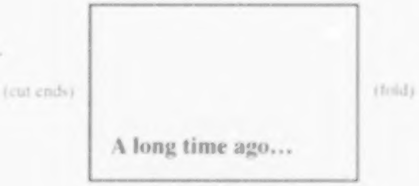
2. Cut out the bottom.

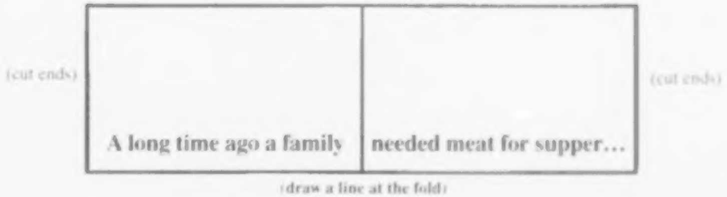
3. Fold inside out. Fold side about an inch and a half.



4. Fold together lengthwise so the logos meet.

5. Print script of book as written through a class collaboration.


(cut ends)
(fold)
A long time ago…


(cut ends)
A long time ago a family
needed meat for supper…
(cut ends)
(draw a line at the fold)

6. Open the pages.

7. Place a child on each side so the children can illustrate the book.

8. Stack pages. Staple the stacked pages together. Cover the staples with colored book binding tape.

process and whole language theory while the books are created. It is also important to allow time for children to share their finished products with each other and their families.

To initiate the writing process, we build background by presenting traditional tales and stories. If possible, stories are told to students by elders of the community. Otherwise, stories may be read to the students from written collections of tales. In addition, children may share stories they have learned from their parents and grandparents. To show the children how to retell a tale, the class collaborates to write the first book. The teacher uses a chart or chalkboard to draft the story, reminding the children of story structure if necessary. When the class is satisfied with the text, the teacher copies the story onto pages made of paper bags (see Figure). Next, various children illustrate the story.

Students are then ready to compose their own stories, revising and editing them prior to constructing their Big Books. Students who need help may dictate their stories to the teacher, to adult volunteers, or to older students before transferring the stories to the paper bags. When actual construction begins, children are soon on the floor busily writing, drawing, and talking about their stories. The children's stories take many forms. Frequently, television and movie characters creep in. One must be prepared to accept the Ninja Turtles helping Coyote fling the stones that make the Milky Way. One may also read a story about Fry Bread Monster.

We observed that Native Americans in one school seemed intrigued with the possibilities of media. They experimented with mixtures of torn paper, marker, chalk, and tempera, frequently using all four in one picture to produce charming illustrations. The humble brown bag is a nonthreatening medium that allows children to experiment with reading and writing. Workshop experience shows that children freely correct their texts by crossing out and rewriting words.

The production of brown-paper-bag Big Books is a feasible project for children. The books produced confirm the assumption that family and traditional stories provide compelling context for self-expression and intercultural sharing.

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Integrating ESL Reading and Writing Through Authentic Discourse

Martha R. Dolly

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As educators have long recognized and as schoolchildren quickly learn, classroom interactions differ greatly from those of home and street (Bruner, 1978; Cazden, 1980; Dyson, 1984; Hymes, 1972). Even the bumbling Charlie Brown immediately realizes his faux pas in asking his teacher about the character of a man he had seen her with. Before she has time to respond, the embarrassed Charlie Brown apologizes: "Sorry, Ma'am…I sound like your father or something, don't I?" (Schulz, 1989). Here the hapless fellow has violated two principles of traditional classroom discourse: He has initiated a question, normally the teacher's prerogative, and he has broached an issue inappropriate for classroom discussion.

What is acceptable in a classroom varies from culture to culture, so nonnative speakers may struggle even more than Charlie Brown with the conventions of classroom discourse. As more and more teachers encourage students to "negotiate and engage in activities from which learning will inevitably follow" (Smith, 1989, p. 356), nonnative speakers unfamiliar with such practices may become especially perplexed. Yet for them engaging in authentic discourse is essential.

Reciprocal Discourse

Negotiating meaning, a form of collaboration much investigated by second language acquisition researchers during the last 10 years, appears to be essential to development of second language proficiency. Through the process of interacting socially and linguistically, not merely through being exposed to language, learners develop functional expertise (Long, 1983).

Meaning negotiation requires conversation partners to modify the interactional structure of their conversation, to cooperate in preventing or repairing conversation breakdowns. Such collaboration depends on genuine motives and real content: All parties involved must need or desire information enough to work for it, clarifying and elaborating until all participants are satisfied that they understand and are being understood. Activities that promote such negotiation are known as "two-way tasks" (Long & Porter, 1985).

A similar negotiation process is essential to progress in reading, for both native and nonnative speakers. Indeed, facility with written language develops much as oral ability does (Peyton, 1986). Many adolescents and adults, however, never suspect that reading involves dialogue with a writer, much as oral conversation depends on mutual topic development.

Readers, say Goodman and Goodman (1983), "may be only dimly aware, if at all, of an author's involvement" in a written text (p. 591). Many never imagine that they can question, challenge, and respond to a text or writer, perhaps because they, like some of the children Heath (1983) studied, have rarely seen reading and writing used for genuine communicative purposes. Even proficient readers often see the purpose of reading as absorbing information rather than constructing meaning through the "dynamic, fluid process" that Rosenblatt (1985) calls "transaction" (p. 99).

Second language acquisition researchers echo Rosenblatt's insistence on encouraging mutual, holistic discourse even though they rely on the term "interaction," which Rosenblatt rejects on the grounds that it suggests a mechanical relationship. As language acquisition researchers use the term, "interaction" is essentially equivalent to Rosenblatt's "transaction," an organic relationship immersed in social and cultural context. Like these transactions between readers and writers, the "conversational interactions" analyzed by second language researchers depend on reciprocal, collaborative exchanges.

The Dialogue Journal

Unfortunately, given such constraints as time, class size, and material to be covered, language and reading teachers may have difficulty incorporating into their classes the richer, more contextualized language activities called for by second language and reading researchers. One way of promoting such interaction is through the teacher-student dialogue journal. Sometimes known as "interactive writing," it qualifies as "transactional" in Rosenblatt's terms or in the terms of language researchers as a "two-way task." Like oral conversation, the dialogue journal depends on mutual, reciprocal discourse and so encourages developing readers to engage in dialogue with a writer.

A dialogue journal differs dramatically from other types of student journals, such as those described by Strackbein and Tillman (1987), who suggest having teachers respond to students' entries by commenting on choice of words or "astute observations" (pp. 29–30). Such "interaction" recalls Rosenblatt's (1985) analogy of two colliding billiard balls.

Theory and research in literacy development certainly support Strackbein and Tillman's insistence on ignoring sentence-level errors in students' journals but also suggest that conversation would be more fruitful than commentary. As Goodman and Goodman (1983) point out, teachers have long "tended to be evaluators rather than audience or respondents" (p. 592). Learners developing literacy need genuine audiences in order to understand that written language, like oral, is a transactional process.

A dialogue journal, then, is an ongoing written conversation that proceeds at a steady pace, the partners exchanging journals daily or at least weekly. Each participant makes an entry in a spiral notebook and returns it to the partner, who addresses questions and comments before introducing new material.

It is the student's responsibility to make the first entry and, ideally, to play an active role in directing the conversation. The teacher's role is to help expand and modify topics, not to direct or correct, although he or she may occasionally need to take the initiative in preventing or resolving communication breakdowns.

Dialogue journal writing ensures that each student's reading text will be roughly tuned to his or her reading ability. Dialogue journal research (Morroy, 1984; Peyton, 1986) shows that teachers modify their sentence structure and vocabulary according to the perceived language proficiency of the student. This is not to suggest that there exists any magic formula for students at a given reading level or even that teachers consciously vary their writing, only that such personal variation can and does occur.

In working with a Chinese man of extremely low proficiency, I resorted to drawings and photographs, supplemented by labels and short sentences. In addition, we reviewed each entry orally in order to fill in any gaps in understanding. As long as we were discussing his three children or the university office in which he was interning, our interaction progressed fairly smoothly.

Unaffected by the constraints that hinder collaborative language use during class time, the dialogue journal can introduce both native and nonnative speakers to functional collaboration between a writer and reader who are familiar with each other and with the classroom and community that provide the backdrop for much of their discussion. As Shuy (1985) explains, reading and writing should be "learned in familiar contexts, with known audiences, on familiar topics" (p. 2). As the journal develops, each participant draws on his or her knowledge of the partner and of their shared environment to understand and expand the text.

In a dialogue journal, both partners are free to complain, challenge, and question. Engaging in such transactions may suggest to students that all reading and writing depend on similar collaboration, that readers of books and magazines can interact with writers even though they will not get the personalized responses that dialogue journal partners do. Exchanging a dialogue journal encourages learners to read transactionally by demonstrating that readers, far from merely absorbing information, can construct meaning through reacting, questioning, and negotiating.

Dialogue journal writing, then, presents literacy as active and functional. Peyton (1989) observes that students want to read and write even though they may resist traditional school activities. Her comment is confirmed by a young man from Sri Lanka who admitted he hated writing. In his last journal entry he expressed relief that there would be no more assignments but went on to say, "In the other hand, I am unhappy that there will be no one to correspond for my ideas."

One ESL Class

The journals of my ESL students illustrate the variety of transactions that occur between dialogue journal partners. I used dialogue writing with nonnative speakers enrolled in an intensive English program (including classes in reading, writing and conversation) at Indiana University of Pennsylvania's American Language Institute. A dozen students volunteered to engage in dialogue journal writing as a supplement to their classwork, the intermediate students making one entry a week and the advanced students two.

Most were adults who had completed high school or college, though several were mature adolescents. Nearly all, being new to the country, seemed surprised at the opportunity to engage in personal conversation with a teacher. As a young Korean woman wrote in her journal, "In our country I didn't have experiences like this."

Unlike most classroom discourse, the dialogue journal allows students to initiate comments and questions on topics of personal interest and provides an audience who collaborates to develop and modify those topics. Some nonnative speakers, and even some natives, do not immediately grasp the purpose of the journal (one said he hesitated to read *my* first entry because he feared that its length meant there was something wrong with his). However, most adapt quickly, initiating topics enthusiastically and assuming at least some responsibility for promoting the conversation.

Many nonnative speakers quickly realize that they can use the journal as a forum for obtaining information and opinions. A man from Pakistan, an officer in the armed forces, inquired about a department store check-writing card he had seen people using. He knew it was not a credit card but had no idea how it was used or how he could obtain one. In his next entry he expressed his appreciation of the detailed explanation I had given: "I have got a lot of information from you for which I am thankful of you." Rarely is classroom reading or discussion so immediately and personally relevant.

The dialogue journal encourages students to articulate responses to what they read because, in addition to being interested in the topic, they actually have the opportunity to respond to the writer. Rather than passing over an author's comment with a vague sense of approval or disagreement, they will be motivated to think about why they agree or object. A 15-year-old Pakistani boy, one of the most linguistically proficient students in the program, introduced the topic of the inherent cruelty of war and reacted to my defense of the United States's role in World War II by saying, "If America had the power she should have used it in a proper manner. It does not suit a country to try to win a war by mean ways. The army should have fought like brave men and not like a fox."

Because of the topics' inherent interest, students who read text generated with a partner will be more determined to make sense of what they read, more likely to monitor their comprehension. When they do not understand material, they have the opportunity to seek clarification or elaboration, negotiating meaning until they are satisfied.

For example, a Palestinian student asked in his first entry for advice on how to "learn English quiqly" and in the second entry indicated that my response had given him confidence that he could do so. However, he did not understand my comments about the importance of his positive attitude and so began his next entry by saying, "Please explain to me what you mean of 'attitude'."

When a dialogue journal conversation breaks down, the partners must gauge the importance of the communication problem and determine how beneficial negotiation of meaning will be. With students of low proficiency, I occasionally let major conversational problems pass after weighing my desire to see a problem resolved against my partner's ability to resolve it.

For example, a Thai student of low proficiency provided a garbled response to my question about his major, marketing: "In your question about soft drink in my opinion I think it may be in both of that ways not only the products various or people in public relations." Usually I try to resolve such conversation breakdowns, but in this case I decided not to risk distressing the student by insisting on a clearer answer.

I often asked more proficient students for clarification or elaboration, even on relatively minor matters, because most of them are able to engage in such negotiation without losing confidence in their ability to communicate in English. Biswaj, who scored high on proficiency tests but "rearly" hated writing and cut corners whenever possible, left a gap that bothered me in his account of the following incident:

> Today nice think happened to me when I was going home. I was in such a hurry that I didn't stop at the red lights. I thought that there was no one looking at me. I was surprised when I went few yards I heard some one saying (calling) stop, and

> when I look back it was a police car. I was rearly shocked. But still I took it up very easy. He told me "Hei guy if you do this again you will be charged $52.50." I started laughing. I hope to take this as my last warning.

In addition to responding to his story ("So, you had an encounter with the law!...I hope you told the policeman you were sorry before you started laughing! He might have given you a ticket just for that!"), I asked Biswaj to clarify his mode of transportation. Since I usually saw him walking and knew he did not have a car, I was confused until I remembered another student's reference to Biswaj's blue bicycle. My purpose in asking for clarification was partly to remind him that a writer cannot assume that the reader knows crucial details.

Ideally, students as well as teachers request clarification and elaboration. Yet few of my students initiated conversational repair, perhaps because, having plenty of time for reflection, they were usually able to figure out the meaning of a passage. Only 2 of the 12, one of relatively high proficiency and the other quite low, assumed substantial responsibility for initiating negotiation of meaning.

The first, the Pakistani army officer, explained that he could not answer a question in my first entry: "I didn't understand, I can't explain you how names work in my country." In my next entry I clarified my meaning:

> I'm sorry I didn't ask my question about names more clearly. My question is, which of your names is your family ("last") name?...Because of the way you wrote your name on the cover of your notebook I thought it (Rajan) was your family name and that to use it in addressing you I should use a title (such as "Mr.").

He responded by saying, "Thank you for the answer and clearification about my name. As you addressed me by the 'Rajan' is correct."

The other student frequently used confirmation checks ("I'm not sure you can understand what I mean") to make sure I was following. He welcomed all meaning negotiation, regardless of who initiated it. When I asked if he really meant that there was too much (as opposed to enough) work available in El Salvador, he explained why there were in fact too many jobs.

Even though students rarely initiate conversational repair, they participate willingly when a topic is important to them. The following exchange from the journal of the young Korean woman illustrates extended negotiation of meaning and collaborative development of the student's topic. In her 10th entry, Hung Hwa introduced a personal problem:

> Nowadays I have a agony. It is about my marriage. My mother wants to marry with someone as soon as possible because she is always anxious about my security. And then she arranged a marriage. But I don't want to marry because I hope to study more and I am too young to marry. In fact, I feel forlorn sometimes. Now, the matter of concern of mine is the studying. I can't think about anything else except it. How about your thought? (about my situation)

After commenting on the conflict between study and marriage that many women encounter and on cultural differences in how marriage partners are chosen, I asked Hung Hwa to tell me more about her situation. The topic deserved adequate but delicate treatment, and I did not yet feel I knew enough to comment at length. She provided additional details and indicated that she wanted to continue the discussion:

> Of course, in my country marriage are often arranged. But many people choose their mates by themselves. I hope so, too. Last week, I met a man came from Michigan. He goes to the Michigan State University, and is twenty-five years old. (I am twenty-three years old.) Because in the day when I departed from Korea, I have met his father abruptly in the Kiampo Airport in Seoul. He wanted for me to marry with his son and hurried a marriage. My mother, also, likes his son, although she have not met him yet.

> Anyway, we, I and he (Hun) talked about that and the situation becomes intensified. In this weekend, he will drop in Korea for a month and wants to meet my parents. Although he permited to study for me after marriage, I want to stay by myself.

Before commenting, I requested clarification of several details ("Let me summarize what you told me, and if I've misunderstood something, maybe you can explain it to me"). Cultural differences regarding marriage made it difficult for me to be sure I was fully understanding her story. In her 12th entry, Hung Hwa confirmed my understanding of most points ("I think you have understood everything very well") but explained that her education was not really in jeopardy, as I had thought, since she would be able to remain in the United States. Once I was sure I understood the situation, we were able to continue discussing it.

Although Hung Hwa and Biswaj achieved high scores on English proficiency tests, it took them longer than their classmates to begin collaborating actively in the dialogue journal. Biswaj, in particular, wrote as if he had little awareness of his audience, rarely questioning or referring to his partner. On the other hand, a Thai student with a low score on the Michigan Placement Test was an active "engager," frequently speaking to me as if we were involved in oral conversation.

For example, in telling about a party he had attended with the other students, he said, "Hiro and Rajan imitated every teacher (Mrs. Fink, you, Dr. Dan, Dr. Ali)." He went on to say that he hoped to have real American food some day (as opposed to pizza, hot dogs, and potato chips) and ended by promising, "I'll tell you then." Evidently linguistic proficiency does not determine how actively students will participate in interactive writing.

In fact, students are not solely responsible for their participation in reading-writing transactions. Teachers may unconsciously squelch students' active participation in dialogue writing by initiating so many topics or posing so many questions that students spend more time passively responding than initiating or actively extending topics. As a young woman from the Canary Islands said at the end of one entry, "I don't know what else to tell you because you didn't ask anything else." For some reason, I asked far more questions in this student's journal than in the others, evidently causing her to limit her role to responding.

Active participation in developing the text requires more than answering questions or initiating one topic after another. Even though my students answered nearly all my questions, few besides Rajan posed follow-up questions themselves. In the course of our discussion of Pakistani brass and leather goods and U.S. craft fairs, Rajan asked, "The handicraft which you bought for your mother is made in which country?"

My Japanese student seemed in some ways to be as active a participant in dialogue as Rajan. Hiro enthusiastically initiated topics (including marketing chopsticks and the Japanese version of *The Beverly Hillbillies*) and readily "engaged" his partner ("Take it easy! You can get Ph.D. God bless you! Good night!"). However he did little to sustain his topics, sometimes racing on to the next without acknowledging my answer or comment. An oral conversation managed this way would seem choppy, if not incoherent.

As a result of my students' reluctance to pose follow-up questions, few topics continued for more than two or three entries. Since exploring an issue often requires negotiation of meaning as well as a series of questions, the most successful journals are those in which both partners assume responsibility for pursuing topics over a number of entries. Rajiv's discussion of war, which began with his account of his visit to the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial, spanned seven entries, the longest and most fully developed topic chain in any of these journals. My conversation with him, though not as lively as some of the others, seemed more satisfying than most.

Transactions and Interaction

Although some students do not collaborate in text construction as fully as others, the dialogue journal requires writer-reader transactions that demonstrate that reading and writing are purposeful, intertwined activities. Staton (1987) points out that although we usually speak of dialogue journal *writing*, "we might just as easily call [it] dialogue journal *reading*" (p. 53). The dialogue journal can help learners discover that both writing and reading require awareness of and collaboration with others, not merely putting words on paper in a vacuum or absorbing information that has magically appeared on a page.

Beyond promoting transactional reading and linguistic proficiency, the dialogue journal extends the boundaries of teacher-student interaction. In the journal Rajiv found a rare opportunity to share his ideas: "You wouldn't have known about my thoughts if you wouldn't have written contact with me, because I try not to disclose myself to anyone, even to my closest friend." Perhaps in the privacy of a dialogue journal, freed from the constraints of "appropriate" classroom discourse, Charlie Brown would have been able to ask his teacher about her boyfriend without thoroughly embarrassing himself. Almost certainly, he would have gotten the reassurance he desired.

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Black History Month Resolutions: Fifth Graders Construct Their Heritage

Timothy Shanahan, Bonita Robinson, Mary Schneider

Rashaan said it. And when he did, his teacher knew that this was the moment to try to nurture the connection of literacy with history and to try to tap and sustain the keen insight, ability, and enthusiasm of this young man and his peers. What Rashaan said, during a discussion of the lack of available books about African Americans, was that it would be important for him and his classmates to write about their heroes "so that we won't have to depend on others" to do it. No teacher could ask for a more compelling statement from which to launch a cooperative learning activity in which students would research, write, and sponsor classroom resolutions honoring African Americans during Black History Month. But first, before exploring the activity that Rashaan stimulated, some preliminaries.

Literacy and Heritage

The other night I (Tim) needed to call a friend on the phone. Unfortunately, I hadn't called that number in awhile, and I couldn't retrieve it from memory. The common solution to such a problem is nothing short of miraculous, though it seemed pretty simple at the time: I looked up the number in the telephone book. I used the book to remember. I used the book as a sort of external memory device, as if I were storing some brain cells in my hallway closet until I needed them. I used reading and writing as a remembering tool.

This is pretty mundane, of course. I didn't absolutely need to call my friend, and there were other solutions available, such as asking someone the number. But we use literacy to remember in other ways, too; Rashaan set us to think-

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ing about those more subtle and ultimately more rewarding aspects of written memory.

Literacy, both reading and writing, has the power to connect us with our heritage. Many of us these days talk about the importance of community, but when we do, we are too often just talking about immediate social relations—such as when we refer to "classroom communities." To us, *community* is a deeper concept than that. It includes a complex of relational networks, including those with the legacies from a distant past or present. Awareness, or ignorance, of our culture, history, customs, and the like is part of the context of all of our up-close relations. These things give us our rootedness or rootlessness; they help us to define who we are and with whom we are affiliated. They are a source of pride and sorrow. They help us to fix ourselves in the social context.

Heritage is often thought of as a more static concept than what we want to convey here. To us, it is more than some kind of "great books" library. It is not a thing. It is a construct. That is, we all have to actively construct or assemble our own "birthrights." And that is why Rashaan's statement was so compelling. He had understood the importance of his own voice—and those of his classmates—in both seizing and constructing their own inheritances. Students so often dislike history because they fail to grasp this notion. To them history seems to belong to someone else, but Rashaan was refusing this dependence on the undependable. Part of the value of heritage is to place ourselves within various groupings or categories, and Rashaan was refusing to be simply categorized—or ignored—by others. He was asking to choose his own place and to decide with whom he was connected.

This is the reason that anyone, black or white, can read a novel by Toni Morrison and be moved to tears, be angered by a reminiscence of a slave, or be made proud by reading the life of Martin Luther King, Jr. Ultimately, it is up to each of us to decide whether we identify with such members of our community and the nature of our links with them. We decide how we are the same and what we will emulate. A black woman might take pride in the accomplishments of Toni Morrison because she sees Morrison's excellence as affirming and explaining her own life. But a white man can similarly take pride in Morrison's work because of an identification with her strength and humanity.

Oral traditions can be the basis of community, but outsiders cannot easily share in the oral traditions of others as an inheritance. Multicultural literature is not the idea of the shaman, griot, or storyteller; it is created by the opportunity of books. Literacy has led to new conceptions of community that are less traditional because they encourage us to construct and share in increasingly complex and nested communities. It is the printed word more than anything else that allows us to choose our heritage. My phone book acted as external memory. By being external, it is available to all. The oral safeguarding of a people's past is an act of cultural preservation, as is the preservation of memory through written stories and history. But writing is also an act of cultural generosity, because it makes those memories available to everybody. Written memories become a potential part of the heritage of anyone who chooses to share in them.

How Rashaan Got There

It is no secret that the virtues and accomplishments of African Americans have occupied very little space on the pages of trade books and textbooks in the United States. The tragedy of this ongoing oversight has been well documented (Reimer, 1992). Authors, editors, publishers, and teachers are all aware of it. More importantly, parents and students themselves know it. Yet the problem is being solved only incrementally (Bishop, 1990). Although we all hope for more texts and trade books devoted to

African Americans and other groups, we cannot wait. But we can take action.

In Rashaan's urban fifth-grade classroom, Black History Month (February) is a special celebration of cultural heritage and connections that doesn't arrive until several months of attention have already been devoted to issues of heritage. So Black History Month isn't markedly different from the rest of the school year, except possibly in intensity. It isn't an island; it's part of the stream. The students in this class regularly discuss current events, often highlighting and collecting articles about African Americans. They read about famous black Americans weekly, and they write reports based on their research.

By the time February arrives, students are well aware of the scarcity of information about their heroes. The students also feel comfortable with their ability to communicate their own ideas and feelings about heritage to each other. For example, after reading a biography and, later, news articles about Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, Alex wrote:

> Thurgood! Thurgood Marshall!
>
> He was a judge with a plan.
> Thurgood Marshall was our man.
>
> A little old girl wanted to get in school,
> They wouldn't let her. That was uncool.
>
> So her father went to "Mr. Civil Rights,"
> Then they really put up a fight!

Or, after the class had read and discussed newspaper accounts of a young victim of violence with whom students could too easily identify, Derrick wrote:

> Life Short, Bullet Fast
>
> It's a shame how Dantrell Davis got killed
> While he was going to school trying to learn his skills.
>
> A seven year old boy,
> Didn't live to see his next toy.

Resolutions

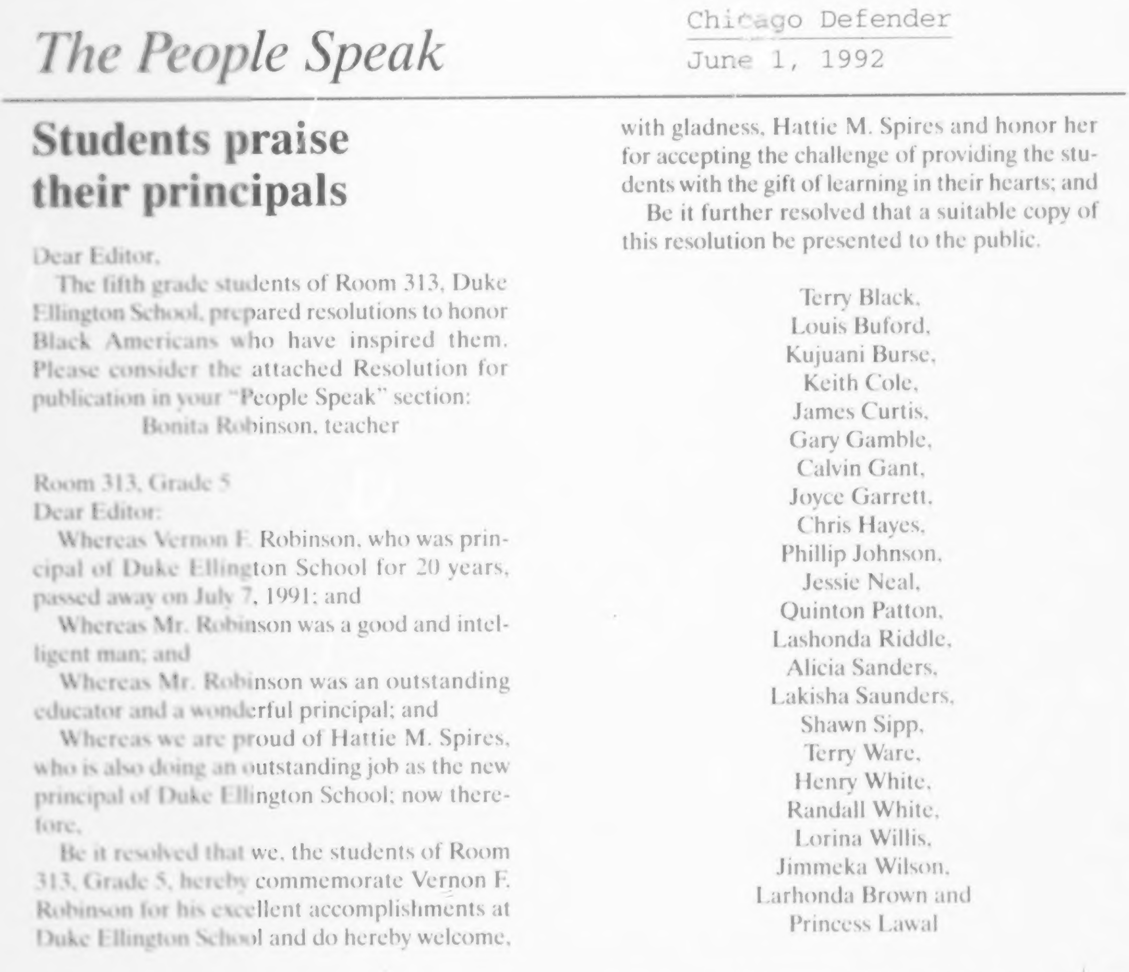
A resolution is a formal expression of opinion that is usually public. Rashaan's comment led to the use of resolutions to convey student opinions about their heritage to the larger community. To get started, the whole class brainstormed using character maps (Macon, Bewell, & Vogt, 1991) to highlight traits or accomplishments of three important African Americans. The selected persons did not need to be famous, just important to the students. One resolution, for instance, honored their former and current principals (see Figure). The class analyzed some resolutions so that they had a model, and they discussed its format and style.

Students were then divided into groups, and roles were assigned (discussion leader, recorder, time keeper, social rules monitor). In lottery fashion, a representative of each group chose the name of one of the African Americans that the class had decided to honor. Local newspapers, for possible eventual publication, were assigned in the same fashion.

Each group was given a folder in which to keep collected articles, notes, and model resolutions. Dictionaries, thesauruses, and biographical books were also available. The students searched for information on their person; read articles and books about him or her; reviewed the character maps to highlight those traits that they most wanted to emphasize; and began drafting, revising, and editing their resolutions. The teacher met with each group regularly to monitor progress, give feedback, and encourage students to respond to each other effectively. Once the resolutions were drafted, approved by teacher and class, and typed, they were signed by each student in the group. Signing your name is one way of taking responsibility for your words. The resolutions were then sent to the honoree or the honoree's family, and another copy was sent to the local newspaper.

The students eagerly—anxiously—read the editorial columns to see if their resolutions would appear. When one of them was accepted, excitement reigned. Similar feelings were apparent when a letter arrived from an honoree. Rashaan was right. We don't have to "depend on others" to fix us within our heritage. Whether the resolutions were published or not, the students in this urban classroom in the final decade of the 20th century have made a statement. They have shown that they can seek out the literature within which they define themselves. Eventually, they will write the histories, proclamations, diaries, and stories that will represent their lives within the matrix of history. They will use their reading and writing to remember, to identify

Fifth-grade students' resolution honors their former and current principals



The People Speak

Chicago Defender
June 1, 1992

Students praise their principals

Dear Editor,

The fifth grade students of Room 313, Duke Ellington School, prepared resolutions to honor Black Americans who have inspired them. Please consider the attached Resolution for publication in your "People Speak" section:

Bonita Robinson, teacher

Room 313, Grade 5
Dear Editor:

Whereas Vernon F. Robinson, who was principal of Duke Ellington School for 20 years, passed away on July 7, 1991; and

Whereas Mr. Robinson was a good and intelligent man; and

Whereas Mr. Robinson was an outstanding educator and a wonderful principal; and

Whereas we are proud of Hattie M. Spires, who is also doing an outstanding job as the new principal of Duke Ellington School; now therefore,

Be it resolved that we, the students of Room 313, Grade 5, hereby commemorate Vernon F. Robinson for his excellent accomplishments at Duke Ellington School and do hereby welcome, with gladness, Hattie M. Spires and honor her for accepting the challenge of providing the students with the gift of learning in their hearts; and

Be it further resolved that a suitable copy of this resolution be presented to the public.

Terry Black,
Louis Buford,
Kujuani Burse,
Keith Cole,
James Curtis,
Gary Gamble,
Calvin Gant,
Joyce Garrett,
Chris Hayes,
Phillip Johnson,
Jessie Neal,
Quinton Patton,
Lashonda Riddle,
Alicia Sanders,
Lakisha Saunders,
Shawn Sipp,
Terry Ware,
Henry White,
Randall White,
Lorina Willis,
Jimmeka Wilson,
Larhonda Brown and
Princess Lawal

with their ideals, and to determine where they want to fit in. But they will do it literally, that is, generously, allowing others to join with them in constructing a heritage.

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Combining Visual Literacy, Text Understanding, and Writing for Culturally Diverse Students

Richard Sinatra
Jeffrey S. Beaudry
Josephine Stahl-Gemake
E. Francine Guastello

How many of us have struggled with the problem of teaching text understanding and composition development to a classroom full of students who come from diverse cultural and language backgrounds? Visual approaches can help, since they reshape and reinforce the verbal. We'll talk here about how we used photo essays and different types of semantic maps with culturally mixed classes of middle school students. Through the visual-verbal approach, the young people were able to build background knowledge about their own environment and then organize their thoughts into writing. But first let us talk a bit about the learning problems at which the approach was aimed.

There are a number of sources for the difficulties students experience in both understanding texts and organizing their own responses. For one, school-aged youngsters are given little opportunity to see how prose content is structured and organized (Hennings, 1982), but Chall and Jacobs (1983) also reported that students from lower socioeconomic levels have difficulty in organizing their writing because they lack form and sentence sense. Hansen and Hubbard (1984) noted that when information is presented to students in a way that is disconnected from their experience, they will have difficulty in retaining it. Furthermore, when experience itself is lacking to provide relevant connections for the understanding of content texts and for the production of coherent compositions, students must face even greater difficulty in making their knowledge known through language.

Visual literacy, developed in tandem with textual literacy, can help ease these difficulties. What is visual literacy? It is a construct that examines the influence of the visual processing system upon the acquisition of verbal literacy. It is

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an especially useful construct for teachers working with culturally diverse students.

Visual strategies that a teacher might use operate in three major areas of visual learning. Input strategies, such as picture viewing, present visual messages to the eyes to be processed by the brain for meaning. Output strategies, such as film production, art, and graphic design, allow learners to express visual knowledge and meaning. Integrative strategies, such as forming images and creating metaphors, help learners visualize ideas and meaning. Generally, visual literacy strategies provide concrete experiences that help learners fill blank areas in their background schemata.

Whole language presents a second construct that may greatly benefit the culturally diverse student in language learning. Rather than separate the language components of listening, speaking, reading, and writing to be taught in different lessons and in different contexts, the premise of whole language is that these four language components should naturally support and complement one another in a single lesson. Moreover, students should be in a learning situation, whereby they naturally need to use the four aspects of the language arts to communicate and gain knowledge.

When visual literacy strategies provide the concrete base for the four language components to flourish, relevant and meaningful connections are made between experience and language before youngsters are asked to read and write.

Structuring a Text

In this chapter we present a visual literacy approach that incorporates both language and nonverbal thought processes. We have used the visual frameworks of three types of semantic maps (Sinatra, Stahl-Gemake, & Berg, 1984) with the technique of using photo essays (Sinatra, 1981; Stahl-Gemake, Sinatra, & Guastello, 1984).

Semantic mapping is a visual way of applying schema theory in the classroom while teaching students about the organization of text. When the teacher builds the map on the chalkboard or overhead projector prior to or during reading, students see how the ideas they will read about connect with their previous knowledge of the topic.

When the map outline is used as a graphic organizer to plan a composition, students connect the major, minor, and explicit ideas they will soon write about.

The photo essay technique is a way to arrange pictures or photos to tell a complete story. Teachers and students construct visual essays that can be explained, written about, or used to represent the meaning of text.

We used the approach with 33 sixth graders and 36 seventh graders from a parochial school in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, New York. Ethnically the group was 85% Hispanic, 10% African American, and 5% Asian American. According to standardized tests administered by the diocese, almost all the students were achieving well below grade level in reading.

The written competency levels of both grade level groups were also quite low. The students were asked to write a composition on the topic "A Day with My Family in Williamsburg" before the visual literacy project began. The Diederich rating scale (1974) was used by three independent raters to evaluate each student's composition. The sixth graders averaged raw scores of 10.6 for mechanics, 14.2 for content, and 24.8 for the composition total. Seventh graders averaged 11.5 for mechanics, 14.3 for content, and 25.8 for the composition total. Multiplying each score by 2 allows for percentages to be calculated. Thus the sixth graders were writing at about 50% competency for content and mechanics compared to an expected sixth-grade population in the United States, while the seventh graders were writing at about 52% competency.

Visual Essays

In the visual literacy approach, student pairs initially took photographic essays that had a meaningful, conceptual framework, then reconstructed the developed pictures during storyboarding using the visual framework of semantic maps. (The sixth-grade teacher had 20 small cameras donated by a leading camera manufacturer.)

Because content in the sixth-grade social studies text was about archaeology, the general theme for most of the photo essays was "Wonderful Williamsburg." Williamsburg is a well-known cultural and historical area of Brooklyn, New York. The photo essays provided a way to supply relevant schema for the study of archaeology in a modern way.

Also, because these students generally had problems in speaking and writing standard English, photo essays developed from their common environment provided a universal way to focus on language. The images and ideas captured by the photos transcended the language differences of this diverse student population while providing a common base for communication. Indeed, the "deep" structure of a picture is processed by a viewer for meaning regardless of his or her facility with the "surface" structure of language.

When either the sixth-grade or seventh-grade students used their cameras to collect their photo essays, they had to plan topics or themes, then take photos according to the theme. After picture development, they organized and storyboarded their pictures according to the organizational plan for that theme. Finally, the wrote a composition on the topic while the storyboard was in view.

Three theme topics were planned: one designed to elicit a sequential style of writing, one a descriptive style, and one a writing involving classification. Because of the limited number of cameras, we decided to use the approach with one grade level at a time, beginning with sixth graders.

Over three 2-week sessions, the sixth graders planned, photographed, storyboarded, and wrote three essays. The topic "A Day with the Principal" was assigned to elicit a visual and written essay arranged in chronological order. The second essay, "Problems in Williamsburg," was planned to produce a general descriptive theme in which students photographed and wrote about the problems they witnessed in their local environment. The third essay, "Community Helpers," was planned so that students could categorize workers in their community and provide visual examples of what each worker did.

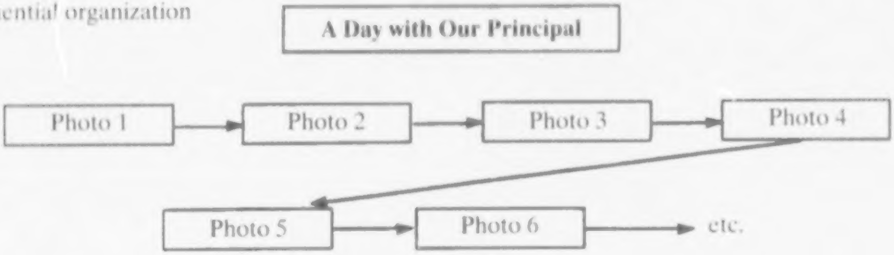
When the seventh graders followed the approach, their teacher wanted them to plan, photograph, storyboard, and write about the topics "A Day at School," "How the Parish Helps the Community," and "Architecture in Williamsburg." These themes were once again intentionally assigned to elicit sequential, descriptive, and classificatory styles of thinking.

During each photo essay period, a good amount of time was devoted to planning what to photograph. Students brainstormed the visualized ideas of the photo essay before actual photography. For instance, for "Problems in Williamsburg," students discussed how ruined buildings, abandoned cars, garbage and litter in the streets, unsafe parks, and graffiti on signs and buildings contributed to an unhealthy environment. Working in groups of two students to a camera, they went with their teacher into the environment to photograph their previsualized ideas. When the developed pictures returned some days later, the student pairs arranged the photographs on an organizational storyboard chart.

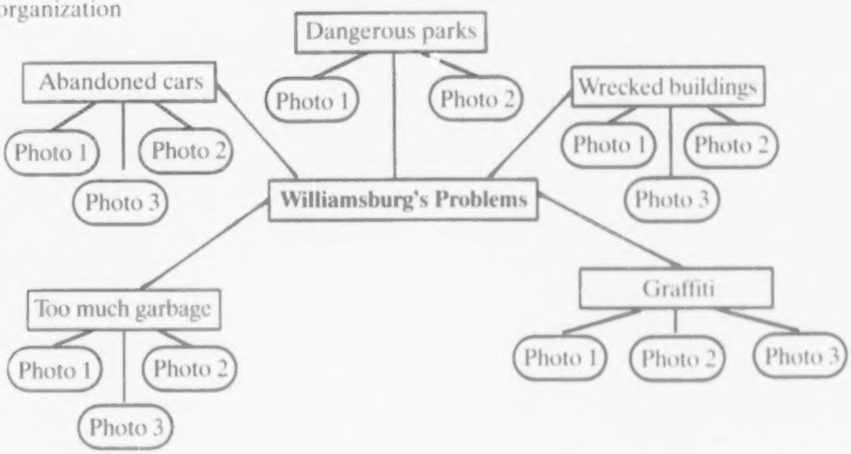
Storyboarding is a systematic visual development that portrays or summarizes ideas through a combination of words, pictures, diagrams, or slides (Kemp, 1975). This allows a student to express meaning through a visual presentation. The title of the essay appeared on a 2' × 3' (60 × 90 cm) poster chart along with lines drawn

Figure 1 Three patterns of storyboard organization for photo essay and written composition

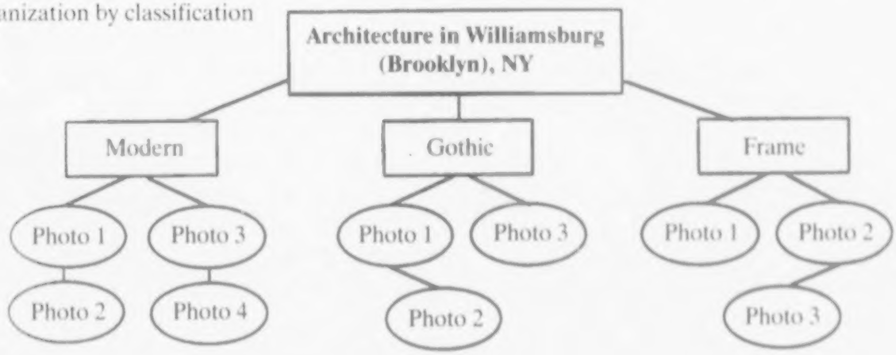
(A) Sequential organization


A Day with Our Principal
Photo 1
Photo 2
Photo 3
Photo 4
Photo 5
Photo 6
etc.

(B) Thematic organization


Dangerous parks
Photo 1
Photo 2
Abandoned cars
Photo 1
Photo 2
Photo 3
Wrecked buildings
Photo 1
Photo 2
Photo 3
Williamsburg's Problems
Too much garbage
Photo 1
Photo 2
Photo 3
Graffiti
Photo 1
Photo 2
Photo 3

(C) Organization by classification


Architecture in Williamsburg (Brooklyn), NY
Modern
Photo 1
Photo 3
Photo 2
Photo 4
Gothic
Photo 1
Photo 3
Photo 2
Frame
Photo 1
Photo 2
Photo 3

between the pictures to show idea connections. Most students also wrote subheadings for their pictures. The completed storyboard showed an overall visual schema for each discourse style.

Figure 1 shows the visual pattern of the three types of organization. Student groups at each grade level had differing numbers of pictures for each visual essay or for a category of information within the essay. For instance, some had three photos for the category Abandoned Cars in the "Problems in Williamsburg" essay while some had five or six photos.

Written Essays

We found the results rather interesting and somewhat consistent for each grade-level group when they followed the steps of the whole literacy approach and wrote essays that verbalized their storyboards. The evaluation of the sixth-grade essays by the three independent raters showed that they achieved total writing scores of 72% for narrative writing, 70% for descriptive writing, and 72% for the writing of classification. The seventh graders achieved scores of 68%, 71%, and 71% for the same three writing styles.

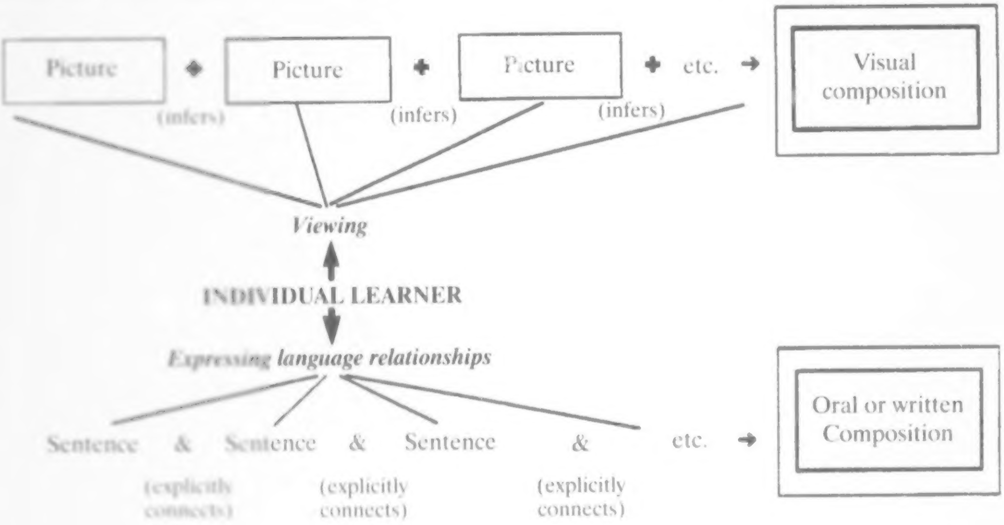
The general merit scores of the writing evaluation scale showed the greatest increase over the initial essay "A Day with My Family in Williamsburg"; the mechanics scores increased half again, generally from 6 to 8 percentage points per essay. We attributed the rise in general writing scores to the increased ideas and vocabulary prompted by the photo essaying and to the use of the structural maps depicting the organization of the writing style. Possibly, all the steps of the procedure—from planning what to photograph to organizing the pictures on the storyboard—aided the mechanical aspects of writing as well.

Students submitted the essay after they viewed the storyboard. Although the photos and graphic structuring aided ideas and paragraph organization, there were gaps in their use of written English, particularly in their formation of sentences.

Notice sections of essays by sixth-grade writers on the topic "Community Helpers" to see how sentence sense and correct English usage are troublesome areas of development, although content is strong in the minds of these young people:

> *Student 4A:* A community helper is someone who does something important for that community. The police, fire department, library, and post office. Also crossing gaurds.
>
> Crossing gaurds help the community by crossing children. A crossing gaurds job is to make sure children cross safely. If a light's are broken she will carry a sign to tell you when it is safe.
>
> *Student 17A:* Libranians provide any information available in the subject the child needs for reports. In librays the have the records of community. Libranys provide the books for the type the people who are reading can feel like if they were part of the person or the character of the book.
>
> *Student 21A:* Post Office delivers mail. It assorts mails, sell stamps, and give job offers. Weight packages, holds mail if going away, and gives notify cards.
>
> *Student 23A:* First there is the Fire Department, who put out the fires in our neighboorhoods and who helps save our lives in such ways as rescueing people out of burning buildings, giveing first aid, putting out burning bushes and trash fires, checking fire alarms, sprinklers and exits, and teach children and grownups about fire safety.
>
> *Student 26A:* Another important department is the Police department. These men or women patrol the dangerous neighborhood. They persuade robbers and thieves. Sometimes they stop fights. In highways they give out tickets you is passing the speed limit. Men sometimes search for weapons or drugs and they arrest drunk drivers. If any of these men find people for littering they give them a big fine.

Figure 2 Explicit and implicit relationships within visual and verbal essays


Picture
Picture
Picture
etc.
Visual composition
(infers)
(infers)
(infers)
Viewing
INDIVIDUAL LEARNER
Expressing language relationships
Sentence
&
Sentence
&
Sentence
&
etc.
Oral or written Composition
(explicitly connects)
(explicitly connects)
(explicitly connects)

Visual Follow-Ups

How might the teacher sustain initial writing development achieved through such a visual literacy approach? The photo essay procedure does present an expense and a potentially troublesome need to get youngsters out of doors. Teachers could follow up with two visual literacy strategies.

First, they could intentionally photograph their own visual essays, or they could arrange and rearrange any combination of slides or photographs in their possession to form a unified essay. Using slide essays projected for whole-class viewing is a powerful way to enrich the language and writing capabilities of culturally diverse youngsters.

Second, students can be shown how to organize picture essays from newspapers, magazines, books, and even their own snapshots. It is the process of composing organized visuals to tell or infer a story that is important here.

It is helpful to have students verbalize the meaning of their stories or reports as they prepare their storyboards. The teacher will be able to ascertain the student's level of sentence sense during such verbalization. When students juxtapose pictures, they infer the connections. When they use language to show how the meanings are coordinated, they have to use relational words and phrases, the function or signal words of English that join ideas in cohesive sentences.

If students omit the connections during the oral telling, the teacher has an immediate way to strengthen that student's discourse proficiency. While the student views the concrete meaning of the pictures, the teacher models the connecting function words or phrases in standard English.

Figure 2 indicates how a sequence or other arrangement of pictures allows a perceiver to infer a whole—a visual composition. The whole is made up of pictures juxtaposed by theme and content so as to supply a continuous thread of meaning. Individual pictures stimulate thinking and language production. Student raconteurs or writers search for connectedness within the display and compose and connect sentences to explain the relationships they perceive.

Since many students have difficulty expressing relationships between ideas, a good technique is to provide them with transition words and phrases, especially the relative pronouns and coordinating and subordinating conjunctions that make the language relationships explicit.

Lists of such connector words and transitional phrases appropriate to particular organizational arrangements can be distributed after students have viewed a storyboard and have begun to write about it. The connectives help them organize relationships and achieve smooth coordination between sentences.

For instance, to aid sequential text understanding, provide students with transition words and phrases like *next, meanwhile, furthermore, besides, in addition to, therefore, consequently*, which carry the direction of thought forward. Spatial connectors such as *nearby, across, above, below, here* help students organize features in descriptive scenes and to relate details in proximity to each other. It was these connective threads between sentences that were absent in the papers written by most of our culturally diverse students.

When teachers use the visual literacy approach described here or follow the additional teaching suggestions offered, they need to be tolerant of the levels of experience, language facility, and conceptualization that students bring to a topic. Yet once they are visually and experientially involved, students can be helped to polish and repolish English language usage. Our approach provided the experience and content connections from which oral and written language should naturally follow. We strove to engage each student's whole mind to see, to predict, to verbalize, to organize, to compose, and to write.

Metz (1980) has indicated that the interaction between language and visual forms cannot represent a complete explanation of one for the other. However, one function of visual input is that it can both inspire and be inspired by the language used to describe the visual experience and that one function of language is that particular words can be used to name the parameters that vision captures.

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PART FIVE

Selecting and Using Multicultural Literature

Timothy V. Rasinski
Nancy D. Padak

What is the reason for selection criteria for multicultural literature? The answer, it seems to us, is two fold. First, we want students to learn about and learn to appreciate other cultures. We wish for students to learn to go beyond tolerance of others and learn to appreciate, indeed celebrate, all that is good and special in other groups of people. In order to do this, we need to select books for classrooms that portray other cultures in authentic, honest, and favorable ways.

A second reason for selection criteria is perhaps a bit more basic. We want material that will provide young readers with satisfying reading experiences. In order for students to read multicultural literature, they need to have an internal motivation to read—and that comes from good stories.

So the selection criteria, as outlined in the articles in Part Five, provide us with excellent principles to guide our search for the kinds of books we would like students to read. Some of these criteria are familiar because they apply to all literature selected for classroom use: strong plots, effective characterization, and illustrations that complement the text. Other criteria apply more directly to multicultural literature. Valeri Pang, Carolyn Colvin, MyLuong Tran, and Robertta Barba recommend that we seek books with themes that foster belief in cultural pluralism, positive portrayals of people from other cultures, and, if appropriate, historical accuracy. Junko Yokota advises attention to cultural accuracy as well and suggests that books written from an insider's perspective often invite "an understanding of the distinctive nuances of the culture" (p. 187). In brief, then, our selection criteria should lead us toward good literature that reflects cultural consciousness.

But in that age-old quest to get students to read and respond to what they read, selection criteria are only part, albeit a large part, of the story. Selection criteria tell us what we want in a book for our students. However, they may not, of themselves, spontaneously ignite that internal desire to read among our students, especially when the content of the book tells stories about people who may be significantly different from themselves in many respects.

"Marketing strategies" are the other half of the equation for matching books and students. Marketing strategies are ways to spark students' interest in the books we want them to read. To the extent that our marketing strategies will result in students choosing and reading multicultural books, these strategies should be an integral part of a multicultural literature curriculum. A sampling of marketing strategies follows:

Read aloud. As Jim Trelease (1995) has so eloquently expressed before, reading aloud is one of the best ways to expose children to the enjoyment of reading and books. Teachers who take time to read to their students, regardless of the grade level, subtly yet powerfully tell their students that reading is important. Moreover, through the process of reading multicultural literature to students, teachers promote the value of this particular type of reading. In addition, teachers can choose to read multicultural books that are at a higher reading level than the students could easily read on their own, thereby exposing students to a more sophisticated level of material than they may choose on their own.

Blessing books. By previewing, or what Linda Gambrell calls "blessing" books, teachers can expose children to a fairly wide variety of material and provide sufficient background information on the books to develop students' interest and background for the material. In blessing books, a teacher might spend 10 minutes or so to do a brief introduction and synopsis of 5 or more books of high quality. The teacher's role is to sell students on at least some of the books. The teacher shows and talks about the books to the children during the blessing and places them on the chalkboard tray as an additional temptation. Chances are that before the day is over, all the books will have been picked up and at least sampled by some of the children.

Provide time for reading. Getting books into children's hands is one goal; getting them to read is another. Some experts estimate that children spend as little as 10–15 minutes per day reading at home. That is not enough. If we want to develop in our students the reading habit, particularly the reading of multicultural literature, then we need to allow them time for choice reading during the school day. Whether we call it Sustained Silent Reading (SSR), Drop Everything and Read (DEAR), or Super Quiet Uninterrupted Reading Time (SQUIRT), it is essential that all students be allowed and encouraged to read in school. We hope the reading that takes place in the classroom will find its way into the children's homes. There are many ways of doing SSR in school, but the one constant, the one unalterable condition is that all members of the class, especially the teacher and any adult guests, also read during SSR. Be sure, also, to spend a few minutes at the end of SSR to allow students to respond orally to what they had read if they would like.

Availability. Getting students to read requires not only exposing students to good material, but also making sure that it is available to students. Here is where good communication with the school and local librarian is crucial. Teachers need to ensure that the books they are going to be promoting are available in the libraries or through other sources such as book clubs. If librarians are aware of the books that teachers will be promoting, they can ensure that multiple copies are available. Moreover, many libraries will allow teachers to temporarily keep a limited number of books in the teacher's own classroom to allow students easy access to the material. Most of the children's librarians in our area will even collect thematically or topically related books to facilitate teachers' use.

Student book talks. Students can do the same. Rather than have students engage in an old-fashioned book report, set aside time during each week for students to do book talks. In a book talk, individual students give a brief overview of books they have read and share whether or not they would recommend them to their classmates. Students might also discuss their own understandings and insights about books that have a multicultural aspect. Students could also complete an index card summary of the book for an ongoing classroom book index; this could also be done using a computerized file system. Students will inevitably use their classmates' recommendations, oral or written, to guide their own reading selections.

Discussion groups. Students need to talk about the content of multicultural books . Many books have meanings that are unclear to even the best readers and are only clarified through talk with others. The discussion may lead to response activities in which students display their knowledge, understanding, opinions, and feelings about the books they read.

When teachers allow small groups of students to read and talk about the same book, they are encouraging the kind of deep-level understanding and response that multicultural books demand. If we want our students to develop an understanding and appreciation for others unlike themselves, they need to have opportunities for group discussions in which their understandings and feelings after reading a book can be refined and acted on if necessary.

Response. Ultimately, with multicultural literature we want students to respond to what they have been reading in some way. This response may take the form of a book report, a book talk, or some artistic and creative interpretation. Or it could be more proactive in the form of the response we suggest in our article or the others presented in Part Five of this book.

As teachers, we need to realize and encourage the importance of allowing a full range of personal, group, and creative responses to material that is read. It is through response that students not only demonstrate understanding of the material read, but also gain a deeper level of personal satisfaction through their own reading and interpretation of the meanings embedded in the pages of books they read. We want students to read excellent material and we want them to be inspired by what they read. We also want students to inspire themselves and others by ways in which they react to what they read. This is response.

In a study of the reading preferences and habits of over 300 children, Palmer, Codling, and Gambrell (1994) documented four powerful influences on children's motivations to read: prior experiences with books, especially having listened to someone else read the book; social interactions with books; access to books; and choice of reading material. We feel that these principles as well as the marketing strategies outlined earlier can provide a viable framework for promoting the reading of multicultural literature.

Selection and encouragement of reading go hand-in-hand. Material is selected from the point of view of literary quality and the potential for satisfying reading experiences. Similarly, using multicultural literature is a multidimensional affair.

The various articles in this part offer ways that multicultural literature can be used in classrooms. Terrell Young and Phyllis Ferguson and Cindy Gillespie, Janet Powell, Nancy Clements, and Rebecca Swearingen show how multicultural literature can be organized around themes. One theme is integral to the material itself—trickster tales—the other is a theme external to the books themselves—Newbery Medal books. Jo Worthy and Janet Bloodgood illustrate how one story that appears in the literary canon of various cultures, such as the Cinderella story, can be the organizing framework around which multicultural literature is used with students. Matthew Glover and Julie Pfeiffer demonstrate how a multicultural story or stories can be organized around a curriculum or subject area framework. And Donna Norton describes one way that multicultural literature can be organized around the type of literature that is read, moving from traditional literature, through nonfiction, to contemporary fiction and biography.

The ideas presented in these articles demonstrate the immense flexibility that is available to teachers as they look to develop literature-based studies of different cultures. A variety of approaches can be used to ensure that multicultural literature and discussion are made available to students in an organized and reasoned way.

But, as with the issue of selection, we need to take the use of multicultural literature a step further. Rather than limiting ourselves to thinking about how the literature can be organized and used, we need, perhaps, to think about how students can use the literature as a springboard for more—more reading, further study, personal reflection, group discussion, artistic interpretation, classroom celebration, and purposeful action.

Multicultural education and the use of multicultural literature has a purpose. That purpose goes beyond the reading of texts. We want students to think about the nature of people who are different from themselves; moreover, we want students to appreciate other cultures and the people who come from them. Reading alone may result in some change in thinking, but reading and response to that reading will surely result in a greater change on students.

What sort of response are we looking for? A response that comes from within the student or groups of students. We cannot really set limits or parameters on the kinds of response students make to their reading. What we can do is provide examples of the kinds of responses that are available for students. The articles in Part Five provide excellent suggestions for responses that can serve as models for students. Whether the response is doing an artistic representation of certain characters from a story, educating the student body to the problems involved in discrimination based on cultural group, creating and performing a Readers Theater script based on a multicultural story, inviting a guest speaker from a cultural group or organization, surveying the student body on its knowledge of multicultural issues, writing an essay on multiculturalism for the local newspaper or a host of other possible responses, the responses need to be of the students' own choosing with the teacher acting as a resource, guide, and counselor.

Response requires trust. We need to trust that children do have open minds, that they are willing to explore, appreciate, and celebrate those who are different from themselves. And, we need to understand that although some children may lack the understanding and tolerance of different cultures that we would hope for, we are still able to provide guidance and support. Nevertheless, freedom to respond in personal and thoughtful ways permits experiences that are personally satisfying to student readers. Personal and thoughtful response allows students the freedom to learn about and celebrate other cultures using their own backgrounds and talents. Such response permits bridges of understanding to be built between readers and the cultures they are reading about.

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Issues in Selecting Multicultural Children's Literature

Junko Yokota

With the increasing cultural diversity of students in U.S. schools today, we as language arts educators face the need to provide literary experiences that reflect the multitude of backgrounds from which the children in our schools come. Multicultural literature can play an important role in filling that need. Students from nonmainstream cultures can profit from having opportunities for understanding and developing pride in their heritage and for building a positive self-concept. In addition, for *all* students, multicultural literature provides vicarious experiences from cultures other than their own; and these experiences help them understand different backgrounds, thereby influencing their decisions about how they will live in this culturally pluralistic world.

Multicultural literature has come into its own. A great interest on the part of consumers and library patrons has created a demand for publishers to produce more multicultural literature. Schools are also making multicultural education an emphasized part of the curriculum at all levels. There is much to be applauded as we look at this heightened interest and at the results it has produced for the elementary and middle school. However, such a rise in interest also brings about some reasons for concern and some challenges for using multicultural children's literature in the classroom.

In this chapter, I focus on one issue related to the uses of multicultural literature in the classroom: the selection of quality multicultural books for children and young adults. I suggest criteria for selecting such literature, present a compendium of professional resources that can aid teachers in using it, and offer a bibliography of specific titles that meet the criteria for exemplary pieces of multicultural literature. Although

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it is of utmost importance to include nonfiction in a balanced collection of multicultural books, I have chosen to focus on fiction in this article because fiction can portray cultures in a greater variety of ways. Cultural information can be present in virtually every aspect of a story: the description of the setting, the events in the plot, the actions and words of the characters, and the treatment of the overall theme. Cultural information may be so naturally and truthfully woven into the story that it becomes evident that the author and illustrator are intimately familiar with the nuances of a culture.

This discussion of the selection of quality multicultural fiction for children and young adults begins with a brief historical look at the representation of people of multicultural backgrounds in children's books and an examination of current issues being debated in attempts to define multicultural literature.

Trends in Multicultural Children's Literature: Then and Now

During the 1960s, several individuals were attempting to draw attention to the representation of different cultures in children's books—for example, Virginia Lacy, Charlemae Rollins, Augusta Baker (Harris, 1992b). It was Nancy Larrick's (1965) "The All-White World of Children's Books" in *Saturday Review* that ended up spotlighting the problem. Larrick found that between 1962 and 1964, only 6.7% of children's books had any inclusion of African Americans in illustrations or text. A more significant statement was made by the mere 0.9% of books that showed African Americans in contemporary settings. Others have also studied the quantitative trends of ethnic representation in children's books, most focusing specifically on the representation of African Americans. Larrick's work was replicated for the time period 1973 to 1975 (Chall, Radwin, French, & Hall, 1985), and it was found that African American representation had significantly increased during the decade. The percentages had more than doubled, with 14.4% of children's books from this period having African American inclusion in illustration or text, 4% of which had contemporary settings. Rollock (1984) stated that for a brief period of time numbers increased (perhaps as a reflection of the social consciousness brought about by the civil rights movement); but between 1979 and 1984, she found that a mere 1.5% of newly published children's books reflected any inclusion of African Americans.

There is not a great deal of comparative research data on the representation of other cultural groups in children's books for the period through the mid-1980s (with the notable exceptions of the Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1975, 1976; Nieto, 1983; Schon, 1988; and Sims, 1985). But from the sources just listed, general commentary of those in the field (e.g., Bishop, Harris, Nieto, and Schon), and informal surveys of the books being published, it is reasonable to say that the representation of cultures other than African American—for example, Mexican American, Asian American, Native American—was even less.

Sims-Bishop (1991) notes that currently there are causes for optimism about multicultural literature, and multicultural literature has recently become an important part of the consciousness in language arts education. However, a recent study by Reimer (1992) revealed that not all is well when it comes to multiethnic representation in popular booklists used in selecting literature for the elementary classroom or in basal readers. She found, for example, that multiethnic representation was extremely limited among the titles in Trelease's *Read Aloud Handbook* (1989), in the 1989 International Reading Association Children's Choices list, and in a list of recommended reading for elementary students prepared by a former U.S. Secretary of Education (Bennett, 1988), though it was somewhat better in the selections and illustrations in basal reader programs. In addition, Reimer (1992) noted other problems, three of which were a predominance of Euro-American authors writing multicultural literature from an "outside" point of view, a lack of teacher awareness of and attention to other cultures in the classroom, and a grouping together of certain different cultures as if they were one (e.g., Mexican Americans, Puerto Rican Americans, and Cuban Americans lumped together as Hispanics). She also noted the need to broaden the canon of children's literature and the need for publishers to take responsibility for providing multicultural literature. Issues like these are also cited by others who are examining what is being produced as multicultural literature (e.g., Sims-Bishop, 1992; Harris, 1992).

Multicultural Children's Literature: The Issues for Today and Tomorrow

In the United States today, there is a lack of agreement as to what the term *multicultural children's literature* encompasses. Some refer to American ethnic experiences apart from the Anglo experience; others include experiences from countries outside the United States as well. Still others include any nonmainstream experience, such as the Jewish experience, or even Anglo cultural groups such as the Appalachian. For purposes of this article, I use as a working definition of *multicultural children's literature* the following: literature that represents *any* distinct cultural group through accurate portrayal and rich detail. This definition is inclusive and in keeping with the "multi-" part of the term "multicultural." I recognize that many use the term to refer only to literature by or about people of color. However, I have chosen to include other distinct cultural groups such as the Jewish and European cultural groups.

One issue for U.S. teachers is making sure that books representing cultures other than mainstream cultures are included in the curriculum, in the classroom, and on recommended booklists. But, beyond the quantitative issue of ensuring such representation, there are other critical matters that language arts educators need to keep in mind in getting beneath the surface of multicultural children's literature. I have chosen to highlight three: defining "cultural group," the need for "culturally conscious" literature, and the importance of an "inside perspective."

Defining Cultural Group

A major problem in defining "cultural group" is that many times cultures are linked into cultural conglomerates with an umbrella label such as "Native American," "Asian American," or "Hispanic American." Differences among the many cultures within each cultural conglomerate are substantial. For example, Pakistan and Cambodia are both Asian, yet each culture is distinctly different from the other. The life of 11-year-old Shabanu in present-day Pakistan in *Shabanu: Daughter of the Wind* (Staples, 1989) takes place in a very different world from that of 12-year-old Dara in *The Clay Marble* (Ho, 1991), set in contemporary Cambodia. Shabanu faces decisions and challenges that reflect her life as a daughter of a nomad on the Cholistan Desert. Dara faces her decisions and challenges as a member of a refugee family searching for a way to keep themselves alive, together, and with hope of rebuilding what they have lost in war-torn Cambodia.

Another problem in defining cultural group is that of excluding some cultures. For example, Jewish people feel themselves to be a distinct cultural group, yet in discussions of multicultural literature, they are usually not included. Jane Yolen's *The Devil's Arithmetic* (1988) is an example of a story based on Jewish religion and history. As Hannah celebrates the Passover Seder and opens the door to symbolize the welcoming of the prophet Elijah, she finds that she has stepped back in time to 1942. Jewish culture is an integral part of the story, and readers are given a view of Jewish religion and history.

Also, the exclusion of European Americans in discussions of multicultural literature denies representation of the distinct cultures of many. Patricia Polacco's numerous books telling of her Jewish Ukranian cultural heritage meet the criteria for good multicultural literature but again are not typically included in such discussions. Books like *Thunder Cake* (Polacco, 1990) are based on Polacco's own family, set in Michigan, telling how their Babushka shared with the grandchildren their Russian cultural heritage.

Culturally Conscious Literature

The issue of "culturally conscious" authors and books is raised by Harris (1990). She argues that quality multicultural literature presents cultural experiences in culturally and historically authentic ways. According to Harris, culturally conscious books "provide exceptional aesthetic experiences; they entertain, educate, and inform; and they engender racial pride" (p. 551). Thus, with multicultural literature, evaluation of the piece must include the criteria for good literature, as well as the criteria for cultural consciousness. An example of a book meeting such criteria is Yoko Kawashima Watkins' *So Far From the Bamboo Grove* (1986), a sensitively told story of a young Japanese girl's escape from Korea during World War II. Another excellent one is Mildred Taylor's *The Gold Cadillac* (1987) in which the harsh realities of racial discrimination in the American South during World War II are encountered by an African American family driving from Ohio to Mississippi in their new gold Cadillac. In both, the rich details are historically and culturally accurate, and the story itself meets the criteria for good literature.

Inside Perspective

Many authors discuss differences in multicultural literature written from an insider's perspective versus that of an outsider (see, for example, Sims-Bishop, 1992; Harris, 1992). An inside perspective is one that portrays a cultural group from the point of view of one who is a member of the group. An outside perspective is the portrayal of a cultural group by one who is not a member of the group. An inside perspective is more likely to give an authentic view of what members of the cultural group believe to be true about themselves, whereas an outside perspective gives the view of how others see the particular group's beliefs and behaviors. This difference in voice determines how readers will perceive the culture depicted.

There is much validity in the argument that writing comes from personal cultural experience. Living within a culture leads to an understanding of the distinctive nuances of the culture. Such a voice speaks as a representative of the culture; cultural details are a natural part of the story. Elizabeth Fitzgerald Howard's stories, *Chita's Christmas Tree* (1989) and *Aunt Flossie's Hats (and Crab Cakes Later)* (1991), reflect her experiences of growing up in an African American family. Because they are based on first-hand experience, the culture is portrayed authentically.

However, there are some authors who successfully write of another cultural group's experiences with a sensitivity gained through extensive research and participation in cultural groups outside their own. For example, Suzanne Fisher Staples, author of *Shabanu: Daughter of the Wind* (1989), has gained acclaim for the authenticity reflected in this story set in Pakistan, a place where she lived for many years and had first-hand opportunity to gain an understanding of a culture from which she did not originate. Also, Arnold Adoff is known for his culturally accurate portrayal of the African American experiences in books like *Black Is Brown Is Tan* (1973), yet he was not born with that heritage.

On the other hand, being born into a cultural heritage does not give expertise in it if one has essentially lived outside that culture. For example, Asian Americans who have been adopted and raised in a cultural group other than the one in which they were born typically understand more about the adoptive culture. Still others may have been raised within a cultural group, yet have chosen not to identify with it and find it difficult to explain to others what it means to be a member of that cultural group.

Going beyond the issue of whether the author is a member of the culture or not, Barrerra (1992) raises another point about perspective. She maintains that it is important to consider the audience for whom the book was originally intended. She sees the differences in author intent and in the nuances of the language used for each of the following: books produced in the United States for American children, books produced in the United States for bilingual children, or books produced in other countries for their children. In particular, she considers Spanish language materials, noting, for example, that books originally published in Spain for the children there use Spanish in a way that varies from the Spanish familiar to children raised with Mexican American Spanish in the United States. This question is not only important in regard to Spanish language materials but also for all materials produced for one audience but used by another.

Criteria for Selecting Quality Multicultural Children's Literature

There is by no means a consensus on the issues about multicultural literature raised in the preceding section. Also, new and important issues continue to be raised. But the discussions in the field have yielded key points for language arts educators to keep in mind as they review multicultural literature. In this section, I address five criteria for selecting multicultural literature for the classroom. But before addressing them specifically, it is important to remember that the standards for any good literature apply as well to multicultural. For example, the literary elements of plot, characterization, setting, theme, and style should be well developed. (See Huck, Hepler, & Hickman, 1993; Lukens, 1990; or Norton, 1991, for good discussions of these criteria.) Beyond these general guidelines, however, there are specific criteria for selecting multicultural literature. The first criterion, cultural accuracy, serves as the "umbrella" for all others. Without cultural accuracy, a book cannot be considered a quality piece of multicultural literature.

Cultural Accuracy, Both of Detail and of Larger Issues

Cultural accuracy means that issues are represented in ways that reflect the values and beliefs of the culture. Cultural information included can help readers gain a "true" sense of the culture. *Family Pictures* (Garza, 1990), for example, depicts a Mexican American family in a photo album style, with pictorial and text details true to Mexican American culture. Many Mexican American readers comment, "This could have been *my* family's album." On the other hand, *The Dwarf Giant* (Lobel, 1991) depicts food being served in a manner only appropriate for being placed on the family altar for ancestral worship, and some illustrations have characters in kimonos worn in a manner only as deceased people are dressed for their funerals. Japanese recognize immediately cultural inaccuracies such as these. In addition to fidelity to cultural factors, there should not be historical inaccuracies such as the biracial marriage in 1950s Mississippi in the story, *The Day That Elvis Came to Town*

(Marino, 1991). Biracial marriages were illegal in Mississippi during this period.

This criterion of cultural accuracy serves as an "umbrella" criterion. Included within this general criterion are: richness of cultural details, authentic dialogue and relationships, in-depth treatment of cultural issues, and the inclusion of members of "minority" groups for a purpose.

Rich in Cultural Details

It is recommended that details from the culture enhance the story in such a way that readers gain a sense of the culture they are reading about. Details can be a natural part of the story, giving insight into the nuances of daily life, rather than appearing as though the purpose of the book is to explain cultural details. *The Girl Who Loved Caterpillars* (Merrill, 1992) has descriptions and cultural details that give readers an understanding of Japan. In contrast, the story *When Africa Was Home* (Williams, 1991) has a child who misses his childhood home and thinks of it fondly, yet refers to it simply as "Africa." This could lead to a view of a continent made up of distinct cultural groups being regarded as an overgeneralized conglomerate.

Authentic Dialogue and Relationships

In *Pacific Crossing* (Soto, 1992), Mexican American barrio brothers go to Japan as foreign exchange students. Both the dialogue and relationships are authentic in the Mexican American context as well as the Japanese context. The story in *Secret City, U.S.A.* (Holman, 1990) about Latinos is acceptable from a literary point of view, but the cultural inaccuracies are unacceptable. The family is nonexistent as a unit, which is not true to Latino cultures. The dialogue in the book is not indicative of how the Latino youth depicted really speak. The multicultural point seems to be that the story is of generic non-Caucasians.

In-Depth Treatment of Cultural Issues

There are many issues that are central to each culture. It is important to give these issues a realistic portrayal and explore them in depth so that readers may be able to formulate informed thoughts on them. The war in Cambodia is the setting for *The Clay Marble* (Ho, 1991), the story of how war affects every aspect of the people's lives.

Inclusion of Members of a "Minority" Group for a Purpose

Characters are to be regarded as distinct individuals whose lives are rooted in their culture, no matter how minor their role in the story, avoiding the practice of including minorities to fulfill a "quota" of sorts.

The examples cited support the need for culturally authentic materials for children to read. If the stated objectives of providing literature that aids students in understanding and developing pride in their heritage and for building positive self-concept are to be met, culturally authentic materials are necessary.

In addition, if the intent is to provide vicarious experiences from cultures other than the students' own, and if these experiences are to help in the understanding of a different background, thereby influencing decisions students will make about living in this culturally pluralistic world, these vicarious experiences must be true to the culture represented. What follows is a bibliography of books which meet these criteria.

A Bibliography of Multicultural Books

This list emphasizes recently published or recently reissued titles. Some older titles not generally well-known are also included. Because a comprehensive list is not within the scope of this article, older and classic works that are more widely known have not been included. However, it is possible to cross-reference other titles by noting the names of authors and illustrators who are producing culturally authentic books for children. Also, because the intent is to introduce a wide range of authors and illustrators, only one work of each author is included unless the author's works span more than one culture. The annotations that follow each title, when enclosed in quotation marks, are taken from each book's Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication information on the verso of the title page.

The books are in alphabetical order by author, and the cultural group represented is named following the annotation if it is not apparent from the annotation itself. "Multicultural" following the annotation indicates that more than one cultural group is represented.

Adoff, Arnold. (1991). *In for Winter, Out for Spring*. Illustrated by Jerry Pinkney. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

"This collection of poems, told from the perspective of a young girl, celebrates family life throughout the yearly cycle of seasons." (multicultural)

Alexander, Lloyd. (1991). *The Remarkable Journey of Prince Jen*. New York: Dutton.

"Bearing six unusual gifts, young Prince Jen embarks on a perilous quest and emerges triumphantly into manhood." (Chinese)

Anno, Mitsumasa. (1986). *All in a Day*. New York: Philomel.

"Brief text and illustrations by ten internationally well-known artists reveal a day in the lives of children in eight different countries showing the similarities and differences and emphasizing the commonality of humankind." (multicultural)

Bruchac, Joseph, & London, Jonathan. (1992). *Thirteen Moons on Turtle's Back: A Native American Year of Moons*. Illustrated by Thomas Locker. New York: Philomel.

"Celebrates the seasons of the year through poems from the legends of such Native American tribes as the Cherokee, Cree, and Sioux."

Brusca, Maria Cristina. (1991). *On the Pampas*. New York: Holt.

"An account of a little girl's idyllic summer at her grandparents' ranch on the pampas of Argentina."

Bryan, Ashley. (1991). *All Night, All Day: A Child's First Book of African-American Spirituals*. New York: Atheneum.

"A selection of twenty spirituals, that distinctive music from the time of slavery. Includes piano accompaniment and guitar chords."

Caines, Jeannette. (1988). *I Need a Lunch Box*. New York: Harper & Row.

"A little boy yearns for a lunch box, even though he hasn't started school yet." (African American)

Carey, Valerie Scho (1990). *Quail Song*. Illustrated by Ivan Barnett. New York: Putnam.

"A retelling of a traditional Pueblo tale in which Quail outwits a persistent coyote."

Crews, Donald. (1991). *Bigmama's*. New York: Greenwillow.

"Visiting Bigmama's house in the country, young Donald Crews finds his relatives full of news and the old place and its surroundings just the same as the year before." (African American)

Cruz Martinez, Alejandro. (1991). *The Woman Who Outshone the Sun/La Mujer Que Brillaba Aun Mas Que el Sol*. Illustrated by Fernando Olivera. Story by Rosalma Zubizarreta, Harriet Rohmer, & David Schecter. San Francisco, CA: Children's Book Press.

"Retells the Zapotec legend of Lucia Zenteno, a beautiful woman with magical powers who is exiled from a mountain village and takes its water away in punishment." (Bilingual text)

Cummings, Pat. (1991). *Clean Your Room, Harvey Moon!* New York: Bradbury.

"Harvey tackles a big job: cleaning his room." (African American)

Daly, Niki. (1992). *Papa Lucky's Shadow*. New York: Margaret McElderry.

"With his granddaughter's help, Papa Lucky takes his love of dancing onto the street and makes some extra money." (African American)

Delacre, Lulu. (1990). *Las Navidades*. New York: Scholastic.

"A bilingual collection of popular Christmas songs from Latin America, illustrated to depict the Hispanic culture's rich and exuberant holiday celebrations."

Demi. (1991). *The Empty Pot*. New York: Holt.

"When Ping admits that he is the only child in China unable to grow a flower from the seeds distributed by the Emperor, he is rewarded for his honesty."

Dooley, Norah. (1991). *Everybody Cooks Rice*. Illustrated by Peter J. Thornton. Minneapolis, MN:Carolrhoda.

"A child is sent to find a younger brother at dinnertime and is introduced to a variety of cultures through encountering the many ways rice is prepared at the different households visited." (multicultural)

Dorros, Arthur. (1991). *Abuela*. Illustrated by Elisa Kleven. New York: Dutton.

"While riding on a bus with her Grandmother, a little girl imagines that they are carried up into the sky and fly over the sights of New York City." (Spanish words used within context)

Emberley, Rebecca. (1991). *My House/Mi Casa*. New York: Little, Brown.

In a format of a picture dictionary, words for various items in a house are given in both Spanish and English.

Ekoomiak, Normee. (1988). *Arctic Memories*. New York: Holt.

"Text in both Inuktitut and English describes a now vanished way of life for the Inuit."

Goble, Paul. (1988). *Iktomi and the Boulder: A Plains Indian Story*. New York: Orchard.

"Iktomi, a Plains Indian trickster, attempts to defeat a boulder with the assistance of some bats, in this story which explains why the Great Plains are covered with small stones."

Greenfield, Eloise. (1991). *Night on Neighborhood Street*. Illustrated by Jan Spivey Gilchrist. New York: Dial.

"A collection of poems exploring the sounds, sights, and emotions enlivening a black neighborhood during the course of one evening."

Haugaard, Erik Christian. (1991). *The Boy and the Samurai*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

"Having grown up as an orphan of the streets while 16th-century Japan is being ravaged by civil war, Saru seeks to help a Samurai rescue his wife from imprisonment by a warlord so they can all flee to a more peaceful life."

Hamilton, Virginia. (1992). *Drylongso*. Illustrated by Jerry Pinkney. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

"As a great cloud of dust moves across the drought-stricken farm, a family's distress is relieved by a young man called Drylongso, who literally blows into their lives with the storm." (African American)

Havill, Juanita. (1989). *Jamaica Tag-Along*. Illustrated by Anne Sibley O'Brien. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Jamaica always wants to tag along with her older brother, Ossie. One day, she makes a new friend who is younger and wants to tag along. See also: *Jamaica's Find* (1986). (African American)

Hayes, Joe. (1983). *Coyote &*. Santa Fe, NM: Mariposa.

Fourteen Native American folktales, all depicting coyote with another animal.

Heide, Florence Perry, & Gilliland, Judith Heide. (1992). *Sami and the Time of the Troubles*. Illustrated by Ted Lewin. New York: Clarion.

"A ten-year-old Lebanese boy goes to school, helps his mother with chores, plays with his friends, and lives with his family in a basement shelter when bombings occur and fighting begins on his street."

Hoffman, Mary. (1991). *Amazing Grace*. Illustrated by Caroline Binch. New York: Dial.

"Although classmates say that she cannot play Peter Pan in the school play because she is black and a girl, Grace discovers that she can do anything she sets her mind to do."

Houston, Gloria. (1992). *My Great-Aunt Arizona*. Illustrated by Susan Condie Lamb. New York: HarperCollins.

"An Appalachian girl, Arizona Houston Hughes, grows up to become a teacher who influences generations of schoolchildren."

Howard, Elizabeth Fitzgerald. (1991). *Aunt Flossie's Hats (and Crab Cakes Later)*. Illustrated by James Ransome. New York: Clarion.

"Sarah and Susan share tea, cookies, crab cakes, and stories about hats when they visit their favorite relative, Aunt Flossie." (African American)

Hoyt-Goldsmith, Diane. (1992). *Arctic Hunter*. Illustrated by Lawrence Migdale. New York: Holiday House.

"A ten-year-old Eskimo (Inupiat) boy who lives far north of the Arctic Circle describes his family's annual spring trip to their camp, where they spend several weeks hunting and fishing for food to supplement their diet for the rest of the year and enjoying old traditions."

Hoyt-Goldsmith, Diane. (1991). *Pueblo Storyteller*. Illustrated by Lawrence Migdale. New York: Holiday House.

"A young Cochiti Indian girl living with her grandparents in the Cochiti Pueblo near Santa Fe, New Mexico, describes her home and family and the day-to-day life and customs of her people."

Hudson, Cheryl Willis, & Ford, Bernette G. (1990). *Bright Eyes, Brown Skin*. Illustrated by George Ford. New York: Just Us Books.

"These bright spirited young children enjoy the activities of a typical day of school." (African American)

Ishii, Momoko. (1982). *The Tongue-cut Sparrow*. Illustrated by Suekichi Akaba. Translated by Katherine Paterson. New York: Lodestar.

"A kind old man and his greedy wife pay separate visits to the tongue-cut sparrow and receive as gifts just what they deserve." (Japanese)

Johnson, Angela. (1991). *One of Three*. Illustrated by David Soman. New York: Orchard.

"A series of candid reflections by the youngest of three sisters on her daily relationships with her older sisters and family." (African American)

Joseph, Lynn. (1991). *A Wave in Her Pocket: Stories From Trinidad*. Illustrated by Brian Pinkney. New York: Clarion.

"On the island of Trinidad, Tanie tells the children six stories, some originating in the countries of West Africa, some in Trinidad, and some in her own imagination."

Kroll, Virginia. (1992). *Masai and I*. Illustrated by Nancy Carpenter. New York: Four Winds Press.

"Linda, a little girl who lives in the city, learns about East Africa and the Masai in school, and imagines what her life might be like if she were Masai."

Lankford, Mary. (1992). *Hopscotch Around the World*. Illustrated by Karen Milone. New York: Morrow.

"Presents directions for playing variations of hopscotch, an ancient game still played worldwide."

Levitin, Sonia. (1991). *The Man Who Kept His Heart in a Bucket*. Illustrated by Jerry Pinkney. New York: Dial.

"Having once had his heart broken, Jack keeps it in a bucket safe from harm until one day a young maiden asks him to solve a riddle which teaches him the true meaning of love." (African American)

Lomas Garza, Carmen. (1990). *Family Pictures/Cuadros de Familia*. San Francisco, CA: Children's Book Press.

"The author describes, in bilingual text and illustrations, her experiences growing up in a Hispanic community in Texas."

Lowry, Lois. (1989). *Number the Stars*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

"In 1943, during the German Occupation of Denmark, ten-year-old Annemarie learns how to be brave and courageous when she helps her Jewish friend hide from the Nazis."

MacGill-Callahan, Sheila. (1991). *And Still the Turtle Watched*. Illustrated by Barry Moser. New York: Dial.

"A turtle carved in rock on a bluff over a river by Indians long ago, watches with sadness the changes man brings over the years."

Mahy, Margaret. (1990). *The Seven Chinese Brothers*. Illustrated by Jean Tseng. New York: Scholastic.

"Seven Chinese brothers elude execution by virtue of their extraordinary individual qualities."

Martin, Rafe. (1992). *The Rough-Face Girl*. Illustrated by David Shannon. New York: Putnam.

"In this Algonquin Indian version of the Cinderella story, the Rough-Face Girl and her two beautiful but heartless sisters compete for the affections of the Invisible Being."

McKissack, Patricia. (1992). *A Million Fish…More or Less*. Illustrated by Dena Schutzer. New York: Knopf.

"A boy who learns that the truth is often stretched on the Bayou Clapateaux gets the chance to tell his own version of a bayou tale when he goes fishing." (African American)

Medearis, Angela Shelf. (1991). *Dancing With the Indians*. New York: Holiday House.

"While attending a Seminole Indian celebration, a black family watches and joins in several exciting dances."

Merrill, Jean. (1992). *The Girl Who Loved Caterpillars*. Illustrated by Floyd Cooper. New York: Philomel.

"In this retelling of an anonymous twelfth-century Japanese story, the young woman Izumi resists social and family pressures as she befriends caterpillars and other socially unacceptable creatures."

Mollel, Tololwa M. (1990). *The Orphan Boy*. Illustrated by Paul Morin. New York: Clarion.

"Though delighted that an orphan boy has come into his life, an old man becomes insatiably curious about the boy's mysterious powers." (African)

Morris, Ann. (1989). *Bread, Bread, Bread*. New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard.

A photographic trip around the world, depicting the importance of bread in every culture. (multicultural)

Myers, Walter Dean. (1991). *Now Is Your Time!: The African-American Struggle for Freedom*. New York: HarperCollins.

"A history of the African-American struggle for freedom and equality, beginning with the capture of Africans in 1619, continuing through the American Revolution, the Civil War, and into contemporary times."

Pinkney, Gloria Jean. (1992). *Back Home*. Illustrated by Jerry Pinkney. New York: Dial.

"Eight-year-old Ernestine returns to visit relatives on the North Carolina farm where she was born."

Polacco, Patricia. (1992). *Chicken Sunday*. New York: Philomel.

"To thank old Eula for her wonderful Sunday chicken dinners, the children sell decorated eggs and buy her a beautiful Easter hat." (multicultural)

Price, L. (1990). *Aïda*. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

"Retells the story of Verdi's opera in which the love of the enslaved Ethiopian princess for an Egyptian general brings tragedy to all involved."

Ringgold, Faith. (1991). *Tar Beach*. New York: Crown.

"A young girl dreams of flying above her Harlem home, claiming all she sees for herself and her family."

Roe, Eileen. (1991). *Con Mi Hermano/With My Brother*. Illustrated by Robert Casilla. New York: Bradbury Press.

"A little boy admires his big brother and aspires to be like him when he is older." (Bilingual text)

Rylant, Cynthia. (1991). *Appalachia: The Voices of Sleeping Birds*. Illustrated by Barry Moser. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

A description of Appalachia, this book gives a sense of the people—their lives, homes, and belongings—and a strong feeling for what it means to call Appalachia home.

San Souci, Robert. (1991). *Sukey and the Mermaid*. Illustrated by Brian Pinkney. New York: Four Winds Press.

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"Unhappy with her life at home, Sukey receives kindness and wealth from Mama Jo, the Mermaid." (African American)

Say, Allen. (1991). *Tree of Cranes*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

"A Japanese boy learns of Christmas when his mother decorates a pine tree with paper cranes."

Smalls-Hector, I. (1991). *Irene and the Big, Fine Nickel*. Illustrated by Tyrone Geter. Boston, MA: Little, Brown.

"Relates the adventures of a young girl, living in Harlem in the 1950s, on the morning that she finds a nickel in the street."

Sneve, Virginia Driving Hawk. (1989). *Dancing Teepees*. Illustrated by Stephen Gammell. New York: Holiday House.

"An illustrated collection of poems from the oral tradition of Native Americans."

Soto, Gary. (1990). *Baseball in April*. Illustrated by Barry Root. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

"A collection of eleven short stories focusing on the everyday adventures of Hispanic young people growing up in Fresno, California."

Soto, Gary. (1992). *Neighborhood Odes*. Illustrate by David Diaz. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

"Twenty-one poems about growing up in an Hispanic neighborhood, highlighting the delights in such everyday items as sprinklers, the park, the library, and pomegranates."

Soto, Gary. (1992). *Pacific Crossing*. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

"When Lincoln Mendoza and Tony Contreras, barrio brothers, go to Japan for the summer…, Lincoln discovers what is means to be both Mexican and American and that Mitsuo, his Japanese brother, deserves a place next to Tony as the best kind of buddy a guy can have." (multicultural)

Steptoe, John. (1987). *Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters*. New York: Morrow.

"Mufaro's two beautiful daughters, one bad-tempered, one kind and sweet, go before the king, who is choosing a wife." (African American)

Strete, C.K. (1990). *Big Thunder Magic*. Illustrated by Craig Brown. New York: Greenwillow Books.

"Relates how Thunderspirit, a very small and timid ghost, manages to rescue his friend Nanabee the sheep from the zoo." (Pueblo)

Takeshita, Fumiko. (1988). *The Park Bench*. Illustrated by Mamoru Suzuki. New York: Kane/Miller.

"All through the sunny day the white bench in the park provides pleasure for the many people who come by, from the old man taking a walk to the children playing in the park." (Bilingual Japanese/English text)

Taylor, Mildred D. (1990). *Mississippi Bridge*. Illustrated by Max Ginsburg. New York: Dial.

"During a heavy rainstorm in 1930s rural Mississippi, a ten-year-old white boy sees a bus driver order all the black passengers off a crowded bus to make room for late-arriving white passengers and then set off across the raging Rosa Lee Creek."

Uchida, Yoshiko. (1991). *The Invisible Thread*. New York: Julian Messner.

"Uchida, describes growing up in Berkeley, California, as a Nisei, second-generation Japanese American, and her family's internment in a Utah concentration camp during World War II."

Walter, Mildred Pitts. (1990). *Mariah Keeps Cool*. Illustrated by Pat Cummings. New York: Bradbury Press.

"Eleven-year-old Mariah envisions a great summer competing as a diver and planning a surprise party for her sister Lynn, but half-sister Denise proves a cloud in Mariah's sunny summer." (African American)

Yee, Paul. (1991). *Roses Sing on New Snow: A Delicious Tale*. Illustrated by Harvey Chan. New York: Macmillan.

Maylin's father deceives the governor of South China into believing that the father's sons prepared the extraordinarily delicious dish, Roses Sing on New Snow. Maylin teaches the governor a lesson about the difference between the Old World and the New when he tries to learn to cook the dish.

Yep, Laurence. (1991). *The Star Fisher*. New York: Morrow.

A move from Ohio to West Virginia in the 1920s makes it difficult for a young Chinese girl and her family. Depicts the struggle of an immigrant family adjusting to a new country.

Yolen, Jane. (1988). *The Devil's Arithmetic*. New York: Viking Penguin.

"During the Passover Seder, Hannah opens a door to symbolically welcome the prophet Elijah, and is swept back in time to 1942, to a Polish village where everyone calls her Chaya."

Yolen, Jane. (1990). *Sky Dogs*. Illustrated by Barry Moser. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

"When horses first appeared to the Blackfeet people, they thought the strange animals were large dogs sent as a gift from the sky."

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A Chinese "Red Riding Hood" story in which the wolf comes to visit the home of children who are left home alone.

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Goldie's Purim. 1992.

Zhensun, Zheng, & Low, Alice. (1991). *A Young Painter.* Illustrated by Wang Yani. New York: Scholastic.
"Examines the life and works of the young Chinese girl who started painting animals at the age of three and in her teens became the youngest artist to have a one-person show at the Smithsonian Institution."

Implications for Teachers and Remaining Challenges

Multicultural children's literature is important for the classroom because it helps children develop an understanding of our increasingly interdependent world. The influence that such literature has on children's awareness of self and others is clear. To help balance this influence, there is a need for more multicultural literature of all types. Nonfiction books may help readers gain factual information about a culture; however, it is fiction that allows us to experience the feelings and thoughts that guide the values and beliefs of our lifestyles. By vicariously living in another culture, we begin to gain an understanding of why people live as they do.

This article has focused on the selections of multicultural children's literature and offers a bibliography of quality multicultural books and professional resources. There are other important issues that need to be considered in using multicultural children's literature in the classroom. For example, a balance of various types of books should be included. One way to categorize multicultural literature is as follows:

Folklore and Legends

Folklore and legends are handed down from generation to generation and reflect a common literary heritage of each culture. The African Anansi stories have such a long history that when Africans were take to the Caribbean, the stories became one of the most important aspects of Caribbean literary heritage as well. Although Verna Aardema's interpretation of the newest publication of an Anansi tale is presented as a Caribbean folk tale, readers will find parallels to other Anansi tales of African roots.

Books About Other Countries—Historical and Contemporary

Rachel Isadora's *At the Crossroads* (1991) and *Over the Green Hills* (1992) are both contemporary stories of life in rural South Africa. They offer a glimpse of life today in another country. On the other hand, books such as *Number the Stars* (Lowry, 1989), set in Denmark during the 1930s German occupation, give an historical look at life in another country years ago.

Books about Ethnic Experiences in America—Historical and Contemporary

Jane Yolen's *Encounter* (1992) shows a Taino perspective on arrival of Christopher Columbus, offering an alternative historical perspective of this event. Gary Soto's *Neighborhood Odes* (1992) is a series of odes celebrating the everyday life experiences of a Mexican American growing up in California.

Teachers, when selecting multicultural children's literature for curriculum use, can monitor the collection and attempt to offer a balance of books in the above three areas in order to ensure as complete a picture as possible. Furthermore, a balance among genres, including poetry, biography, other nonfiction works, and fiction that depicts a wide spectrum of lives, is highly desirable.

Sims-Bishop (1992) classifies books by the degree to which culture plays a role in the story. She identifies these as specific, generic, and neutral. Culturally specific books are those which "illuminate the experience of growing up a member of a particular, non-white cultural group" (p. 44). An example of a culturally specific book is Laurence Yep's *The Star Fisher* (1991), loosely based on the story of his grandmother's immigration to America in the 1920s. Generically American books are ones that "contain few, if any, specific details that might serve to define those characters culturally" (p. 45). *Con Mi Hermano/With My Brother*, by Eileen Roe (1991), depicts a preschool boy enjoying many activities with an older brother. Because such experiences are not specific only to the Hispanic culture, it is considered a generically American book. Culturally neutral books are ones that are not culturally bound, yet depict characters who happen to be of various cultures.

Also, there is a need for more multicultural literature depicting a greater diversity of experiences within each cultural group. More contemporary situations need to be portrayed, allowing a look into the current lifestyles rather than overemphasizing historical heritage.

Because teachers select and guide the use of multicultural literature in their classrooms, their attitudes and background play a critical role in the multicultural experiences children have through literature. Thus, responsibility for culturally conscious literary experiences is in the hands of teachers. Teachers themselves must be readers of multicultural literature at all levels. Literature for adults, young adults, and children can help teachers build their own background as they vicariously experience other cultures.

It is difficult to have a depth of understanding of the unique characteristics of various cultures. Teachers can rely on parents and others in the community as resources for determining authenticity of cultural portrayal. In addition, there are written sources of information and various reviews of multicultural literature. A list of such resources is included at the end of this article under the heading "Professional Reference Materials."

Also, although it is important to recognize the uniqueness of various cultures, it is equally important to recognize similarities across cultures. There are basic values and experiences that all cultures share. For example, Mitsumasa Anno's *All in a Day* (1986) is a book that exemplifies both the diversity and the similarities across cultures. Anno's vision for world peace begins with helping children understand the world around them. He attempts to accomplish this by showing how, in one 24-hour period, children around the world participate in similar kinds of activities—eating, sleeping, playing, and celebrating New Year's. However, the activities are carried on somewhat differently, depending on the country these children live in. Books such as this one can help children begin to understand the world around them. A full discussion of issues like these is beyond the scope of this article. Therefore, the recommended reading list of professional books that follows can help provide more complete discussion.

In many ways, the use of multicultural children's literature in the classroom hinges on selection. For that reason, I have focused on issues to keep in mind when choosing books for the classroom. I have offered criteria for the selection of multicultural literature and provided a list of some of the quality books that adhere to those criteria.

It is hoped that issues raised in this article will be considered as teachers choose books and that the bibliographies provide useful resources. Multicultural books deserve a place in the canon of children's literature, and teachers can take the steps necessary for their inclusion in children's reading.

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Multicultural Learning Through Children's Literature

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The United States of America has long been recognized as a home (indeed in many cases, a refuge) for people from many cultures. The traditional orientation toward the cultural diversity of the country, however, has been characterized by the implicit assumption that the dominant culture is the best culture. New arrivals were encouraged to adopt the dominant Anglo-Saxon, Protestant culture. Schools were places where this acculturation process happened to young people.

More recently an enlightened vision of the country's multicultural heritage has taken hold. No longer is a "forced" change of culture so widely advocated. Instead, this new vision acknowledges that a dominant culture does exist within certain contexts, but it also calls for a profound appreciation and fostering of the native cultures of people not born into the dominant culture.

This vision has had an impact on schools. In addition to introducing students to the milieu of the dominant culture, schools have been charged with helping students learn tolerance and appreciation of other cultures and persons who are members of those cultures. Curricula in multicultural education, the inclusion of characters and stories from other cultures in textbooks, and even school integration policies are attempts to make schools places where tolerance, patience, appreciation, and friendship among children of different backgrounds and cultures are fostered.

What we see portrayed in the media, however, implies that schools and society are failing in the achievement of this goal. The frightening proliferation of Neo-Nazi groups and the increasing number of incidents involving racial hatred and intolerance suggest that we are not helping students develop respect for people of other cul-

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tures. One local newspaper reported an incident involving a teenager who was beaten by four others of another race. The beaten teen suffered a fractured skull and faces the possibility of surgery because of bleeding in his brain. The motivation for the incident: The attacking teenagers were looking for a kid of another race to beat up.

Unfortunately, such incidents do not seem uncommon. Compounding their disturbing nature is the fact that they are occurring at a time when schools are attempting to build more culturally pluralistic attitudes in students.

The problem is complex. It will have no simple solution. However, we believe that children's literature can be a powerful way for children to learn about and learn to appreciate other cultures. Literature presents readers with new worlds, new ideas, new options—stuff to reflect upon and to use to better themselves as people, as well as readers. In the context of an environment that promotes interpersonal caring, the development of prosocial behaviors and attitudes, selflessness, and citizenship, teachers and children can use literature to explore and act upon their cultural values and beliefs. In this chapter we present a structure for considering the use of children's literature in dealing with cultural differences. We also suggest classroom approaches that capitalize on the power of literature to promote intercultural and multicultural appreciation.

Cultural Awareness, Appreciation, and Children's Literature

Literature has long been seen as a vehicle for fostering cultural awareness and appreciation. As a general rule, however, literature use stops at presentation. That is, teachers and students read stories of or from various cultures, but beyond brief postreading discussions, little else comes of consideration of cultural values and beliefs.

Banks (1989) describes four curricular models for integrating ethnic and multicultural content into regular curricula. The models are hierarchically arranged in terms of their sophistication in making multicultural issues a central part of the curriculum. At the lowest level is the *contributions approach*, a focus on the highlights, heroes, and holidays of a particular culture. Single lessons may address discrete cultural elements, for example. Through literature, children may encounter descriptions of the lives and contributions of important persons or special customs in different cultures. Biographies about important figures in a cultural group or narratives set within the context of important holidays of a group lend themselves to the contributions approach. In one classroom, for example, the teacher might read a biography of Martin Luther King, Jr. to the class in January and Singer's (1980) *The Power of Light: Eight Stories for Hanukkah* in December to note the contributions and traditions of African American and Jewish American cultures.

At the second level of Banks's hierarchy is the *additive approach*. Like the contributions approach, the basic structure of the curriculum is unchanged at this level. However, content, concepts, and themes that reflect other cultures are added to the set curriculum. For example, *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* (Taylor, 1976) might be added to the literature curriculum; or *Journey to Topaz* (Uchica, 1971), the story of the forced evacuation and internment of a Japanese American family during World War II, might be included in the study of 20th-century American history. Similarly, Politi's (1976) *Three Stalks of Corn* may be the Hispanic addition to an elementary-level unit about food or folk tales and legends. At this level literature or information about other cultures is added to the curriculum but not woven through it.

Although these represent the lowest levels of Banks's hierarchy, the importance of these sorts of multicultural explorations should not be underestimated. Rudman (1976) notes that, left on their own, children tend to drift toward familiar stories. That is, they choose stories and books that reflect their own cultures. Thus, it is critical for teachers to expose children to the stories of other cultures. One of the first steps in this process is to stock the classroom with books about a variety of peoples, cultures, lifestyles, and points of view (Rudman, 1976).

The additive and contributions models seem to be common forms of addressing multicultural content in the classroom. On the positive side, such lessons are relatively easy to design and implement. And they do make substantive contributions to the multiethnic-multicultural curriculum. On the negative side, these approaches can rather easily be perceived as forms of tokenism. Superficial treatment of different cultures can lead to a reinforcement of stereotypes and misconceptions, including the notion that ethnic cultures are not integral parts of the dominant culture. To move beyond these problems, greater effort is clearly required.

The two higher levels of Banks's hierarchy address these potential obstacles. In the *transformation approach* students are encouraged to view problems, themes, concerns, and concepts from the perspective of different cultural groups. For example, students might study the American Revolution from the points of view of Anglo revolutionaries, Anglo loyalists, African Americans, Native Americans, the French, and the British. Similarly, students could explore government policies and actions toward Native Americans from the perspectives of members of that culture as well as from that of the white settlers and entrepreneurs who sought to benefit from exploiting them. Activities like these allow students to see the interconnectedness of various ethnic groups with the dominant culture. Moreover, Banks argues that this sort of perspective-taking helps empower cultural groups that may have been victimized or exploited.

The highest level in Banks's hierarchy is the *decision-making and social action approach*. At this level students identify social problems and concerns, make decisions, and take actions to help resolve the problems they have identified. Students may decide to study problems in discrimination within the school itself, for example, or the treatment of certain groups by the local newspaper. Students are challenged to identify, critically analyze, and work to resolve problems related to cultural and ethnic differences.

At these two higher levels students are moved to use their cognitive abilities and to solve problems. When we think of the nature and goals of schooling, these latter two models embody much of what we want students to become: thinking and caring people who can be moved to act on values and beliefs that are developed through thoughtful analysis.

Transformation, Social Action, and Literature for Children

The questions then become ones like these: How does literature for children fit into these schemes? How can literature help students view important societal events from the points of view of groups not a part of the dominant culture? How can literature help children from all cultural groups see their cultures and historical figures within their cultures as important contributors to our national heritage and history? And how can literature be used as a catalyst for defining, analyzing, and acting upon problems related to various ethnic groups in society?

These questions tend not to be addressed in schools, so we have few models to look at. Teachers who wish to use literature in this way need not be sociologists or cultural historians, however. They do need a broad knowledge of books, an understanding of important issues of the past and present facing various cultural groups, and a willingness to entertain and be a part of diverse explorations and calls for social action.

At the transformation level, books can provide or contextualize diverse perspectives in very personal and concrete terms. For example, children might contrast the highly sympathetic view of the American Revolution in *Johnny Tremain* (Forbes, 1946) with the more ambivalent orientation of the rural colonists in *My Brother Sam Is Dead* (Collier & Collier, 1974). One book takes the perspective of the dominant cultural group while the other presents views that can be seen as more amenable to loyalists, pacifists, and the less empowered among the American colonists. Stereotypical visions of unprovoked savagery and attacks on Anglo settlers, as in *The Matchlock Gun* (Edmonds, 1941), can be juxtaposed with Hickman's (1974) *The Valley of the Shadow*, which portrays the true account of the massacre of peaceful Indians at the hands of whites.

Similarly, glorious accounts of immigration to the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries can be compared to the plight of the young girl in *The Hundred Dresses* (Estes, 1944). This daughter of a Polish immigrant must contend with the taunts and vicious teasing of other children because she has a name that seems odd, she dresses differently from the other children in school, and she speaks with an accent. In *Felita* (Mohr, 1979) a family of Hispanic Americans must contend with bigotry when it moves away from an Hispanic neighborhood.

Clearly, literature can provide students with unmistakable contrasts in perspective and can help them to understand their own cultural heritages and those of others within and outside the classroom. Discussions and response activities should be thoughtful, critical, and touched with a sense of true empathy. In this way, all children can come to realize their own cultural values and beliefs and can appreciate the contributions of various cultural groups to our heritage and history. Seeing their own experiences reflected in literature is an additional benefit, especially for children from minority groups.

Literature for children can also play an important role in the decision-making and social action model. This level is marked by identifying, analyzing, and acting upon problems related to a multicultural society. Although there is no substitute for analysis and action, literature can introduce students to problems that may need to be addressed. Literature can provide the "raw material," so to speak, for the analysis of hypothetical cases and can become a part of children's plan for action.

Journey to Topaz by Yoshiko Uchida (1971) provides a fictional account of a Japanese American family's evacuation and internment in concentration camps during World War II. This book could introduce the problems of Japanese American internment and the differential treatment of Asian Americans in contemporary society. The book could be a starting place for further intensive study of these issues through expository books, newspapers, magazines, personal interviews, and so forth.

Beyond this, however, students can analyze and evaluate the actions that are portrayed in the book. Was the United States government justified in arresting the father or in forcibly relocating the family? What should or could the family have done at that time to address the unjustified actions taken against it? At a higher level of abstraction, students might consider what the Japanese American community and other concerned citizens might do today to redress the grievances of those interned and to ensure that such unjust actions are not allowed to be repeated. And, students can decide what *they* can do in response to the issue of unwarranted and unjust treatment of a cultural subgroup.

Indeed, literature itself can be the basis for the type of action that Banks describes. Literature response activities can be directed toward social activism. Let us continue to focus on *Journey to Topaz* as an example. The class may decide to share and discuss the story with their parents. Class members may wish to create a skit or dramatic interpretation of the story or a key event to share with their schoolmates. Newspaper or magazine accounts of attempts to redress this injustice can be read and discussed to provide students with additional information about the issues. The class could decide to use its study of the book and the underlying issues to write letters to the editor of the local newspaper or to government representatives arguing for an end to actions of this type. Or, the class could respond through art, poetry, or prose and then display their work in the school or another public place to share with others.

Many other books detail the difficulties and concerns facing cultural groups in our society. The racism facing African Americans is strongly portrayed in Mildred Taylor's (1976) *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry*. Not only a good story, the book can become part of the study of discrimination and violence against African Americans in their own country. The scenes of nightriders terrorizing the black community, lynch mobs coming after a black youngster, and unjustified job actions taken against black working men and women can inspire students to act. Textbooks touch the mind with sanitary descriptions of events; stories, told from the points of view of persons who lived through the events, have the power to touch the hearts of readers and move them to the type of action that characterizes the highest level of multicultural study. As Harding (1978) points out, "Responding adequately to a great work means becoming something different from your previous self" (p. 215).

Roll of Thunder could be followed by other stories and texts that portray the same theme. Once the heart and the mind have been moved, teachers may encourage children to react in positive fashions. One cannot predict how different groups of children may act in response to stories, so teachers need to be open to diverse responses. Actions might include class sponsorship of a "Freedom Day" in the school to celebrate how far the nation has come and to accentuate how much remains to be done in terms of true freedom and equality for all citizens. Students might organize a school-wide essay contest on equality in America. They might help to keep public attention on the issue by writing letters to the media or to government representatives. Groups of students might read different books and, as a class, prepare an annotated book list to be distributed to parents and librarians. Indeed, students could even survey local libraries to make sure that books on the African American experience are available and that librarians make positive efforts to direct their patrons to those books. Students' actions need not be confrontational. They do, however, need to be of students' own design and for their own purposes.

Empowerment and Literature for Children

Lately the term *empowerment* has become something of a buzz word. Teachers need to be empowered so that they can become part of the educational reform process. When students become empowered, they share responsibility for their own learning. Empowerment implies action. This fourth level of a multicultural curriculum, because of its emphasis on student action, works to empower students.

Any action needs an impetus. In a multicultural curriculum there are few stimuli with greater potential to move people to action than literature. Because it tells the stories of human events and the human condition and not simply the facts, literature does more than change minds; it changes people's hearts. And people with changed hearts are people who can move the world.

Although literature for children has long been recognized as a powerful aspect of a multicultural curriculum, its real potential for multicultural learning and sensitivity has not yet been realized. Multicultural learning achieves its pinnacle when students are inspired to challenge and act upon their beliefs and values about people who are different from them or from the mainstream. Literature for children conveys knowledge about a subject while simultaneously providing an impetus for action. Teachers interested in using literature in a multicultural curriculum need to expand their vision of its purpose or role. Literature can do more than help children develop an awareness and internal value system about multicultural events and issues. Literature can provide the impetus for acting in a positive fashion on that awareness and those values.

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Beyond Chopsticks and Dragons: Selecting Asian American Literature for Children

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Children's books share wonderful insights with their readers and communicate influential messages about society. Authors write books that convey specific value orientations and beliefs. As teachers, we have often chosen books with particular themes and values in mind to enhance instructional materials. With increasing interest on reading instruction using children's literature, the criteria for appropriate book selection require reconsideration particularly with respect to the images of culturally diverse populations. The purpose of this article is to recommend guidelines for book selection that reflect an awareness of diversity and to suggest quality Asian American literature.

Asian Americans are the fastest growing minority group in the United States. From 1970 to 1980, the Asian population in the United States increased by approximately 143% (Suzuki, 1988). In 1985, the Asian American population was estimated to be 5.1 million and projected to increase to 10 million by the year 2000, approaching 4% of the national population (Hsai, 1988). The 1984 Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Survey (DBS Corporation, 1986) reported an Asian American student population of just about one million. Taking into consideration birthrate and continued immigration, it may be safely surmised that the figure has further increased in more recent years.

In light of the increasing numbers of Asian American students in our classrooms, it is crucial that the books teachers use promote sensitive, positive, and accurate portrayals of this community. Literature is the means by which all children come to understand the stories of others and learn to embrace the rich diversity of our schools. However, in promoting the use of literature, teachers need to consider critical principles

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in the selection of children's literature, so as not to reinforce stereotypes. Often, teachers with good intentions select pieces of literature for classroom use and believe that because the story centers on a diverse group the book inherently represents a perceptive characterization and should be considered as a quality selection for children. This is not always the case. For example, teachers may be using *In the Year of the Boar and Jackie Robinson* (Lord, 1984) to depict a universal view of the Asian American experience. We have some reservations about the novel. This is a well-written story, yet the main character, Shirley Temple Wong, seems overly concerned with fitting into U.S. society, almost to the point of discarding many of her Chinese ways. This book does provide insights into the isolation and confusion a new immigrant may feel trying to adjust to a new country. Shirley continually makes choices that increasingly emphasize the important of taking on mainstream ways and forsaking her cultural lifestyle. We feel a book that allows readers to better understand the struggle of developing a bicultural identity is *Child of the Owl* (Yep, 1977). In this story Casey struggles with her own insecurities as a culturally different American. Casey realizes valuing her Chinese roots does not take away from her identity as an American and finds balance to her inner battle for self-acceptance.

A basic premise of our article is that everyone is diminished when stereotypes of various groups are reinforced in children's literature. As teachers, we must avoid them.

Selection Criteria

In developing criteria for book selection, we have built upon the work of the Council on Interracial Books for Children (1980). We recommend that teachers select Asian American children's books that meet the following criteria: (1) present culturally pluralistic themes, (2) portray positive character traits, (3) have settings in the United States, (4) present authentic illustrations, (5) contain strong plot and characterization, and (6) reflect historical accuracy. These guidelines can be used to assist teachers in selecting books for their classrooms and also to aid students in choosing independent reading materials.

These criteria have evolved from a philosophical stance of progressive education and social reconstructionism. This system of beliefs, championed by John Dewey (1916), George Counts (1932), and Theodore Brameld (1971), supports the aim of schooling as one of educating fulfilled, responsible citizens. Children need the opportunity to view issues from a variety of perspectives, to think critically about social conflicts, and to engage in decisions that result in action. They need to understand concepts from various perspectives and deal with issues of oppression and human rights.

The selection criteria include general characteristics of quality literature and sensitivity to the presentation of culturally diverse role models. The books we recommend in this article provide children with literature that respects Asian Americans and their viewpoints and, in some cases, selections that question social inequities. Though there are numerous discussions of guidelines for bias-free materials (Harris, 1991; Rudman, 1976; Tanyzer & Karl, 1972), few have in-depth discussions of how to critically apply the criteria to books about Asian Americans. This chapter is aimed at helping teachers present a bicultural perspective and expand their selections of books from traditional, old country presentations to those that represent the American experience of Asians. Asian Americans have lived on what is considered the continental United States since 1763. (Cordova, 1983). Unfortunately, many of their American peers consider them to be foreigners. The books we have chosen celebrate an Asian American world view that is a complex blend of mainstream experiences mediated through continually changing ancestral beliefs.

A culturally pluralistic theme. Since the United States is a culturally diverse society, the first criterion centers upon selecting books that foster the belief in cultural diversity as an integral asset. The United States is founded upon the tenets of social justice and individual freedom. Democratic values include a respect for a variety of lifestyles and the continuation of cultural traditions that may include a home language other than English, following traditional holidays that are not Christian, and the belief in family before self. Children from ethnically diverse communities face the dilemma of cultural assimilation because of the strong messages children receive from mainstream society to "fit into" the general community. The conflict between home cultural values and school beliefs can hamper the development of positive self-esteem in children. The issues of cultural assimilation are complex, and we believe teachers must carefully consider the underlying messages conveyed in books that they use as models of instruction.

Positive portrayal. A critical aspect for selection of children's literature is a positive portrayal of Asian Americans as empowered people. The characters in the books we recommend are presented as people who are not overgeneralized in terms of politeness, servitude, expertise in martial arts, or stilted speech patterns, qualities that may tend to reinforce particular cultural stereotypes (Pang, 1990). In short, the characters are real people with universal dimensions to whom individuals from other cultural backgrounds can relate. The story lines depict individuals whose cultural environment has enriched and guided their lives and the lives of others. Some of the books present Asian American protagonists who struggle with their bicultural existence and the dilemma of keeping or rejecting their ethnic identity. Others show Asian Americans in everyday activities of eating, working, and playing. Several of the recommended texts provide protagonists who are empowered to make changes in their lives and present Asian Americans as problem solvers in the United States.

Settings in the United States. In recommending the best Asian American literature for children, another important criterion for selection is the setting for the story. Often children and teachers alike may not fully realize that Asian Americans are American citizens who may represent fifth-generation, native-born Americans, not new immigrants. A locale or setting in the United States is important to developing an accurate conception of the culturally diverse nature of the United States and the legacy of Asians as Americans. Since the setting provides a frame for the story and shapes the reader's perception, it is crucial for children to understand that Asian Americans, though physically different, are members of the United States community.

Illustrations. Illustrations that complement the text of the story should be accurate. All Asian Americans are not identical to each other. As with other individuals, Asian American characters have unique physical qualities in the shape of eyes, hair styles, stature, body build, posture, and dress. Most Asian Americans do not wear traditional clothing unless for special occasions. Asian Americans are a proud and expressive people and should not be presented stereotypically shy and bowing (Aoki, 1981). For young readers illustrations provide an extension of the text that can enhance natural appearances or reinforce stereotypical caricatures.

Plot and characterization. For any piece of literature, a strong plot and effective characterization are critical to the reader's enjoyment of the story. The books we have selected are well written with believable and engaging plots and utilize carefully crafted protagonists. The plot and characters are credible, mirror cultural and literary integrity, and reflect the range of human emotions. Characters are believable because their actions are based on real events and decisions and are not dependent on contrived and predictable situations. Finally, these selections convey a clear understanding of how traditions have evolved in the bicultural experience of American Asians so that readers, both young and old, do not mistakenly identify Asians as being foreigners and outsiders.

Historical accuracy. According to the Council on Interracial Books for Children (1980), an important selection criterion is historical accuracy. The historical fiction books on our list have been carefully researched by their authors. These books do not present Asian Americans as being passive in the face of ethnic prejudice. The characters proactively confront the severe levels of racism they encounter. The authors of these recommended books painstakingly present a balanced view of both mainstream and Asian American perspectives in the light of issues dealing with the internment of Japanese Americans, the effect of war on Cambodian Americans, and the exclusion of Chinese Americans during the early 1900s. After applying our criteria, we recommend the Asian American literature listed in the Table and described in the following section for classroom use.

Recommended Books

Taro Yashima was one of the first authors who brought believable images of Asian Americans to picture books with beautiful, expressive language patterns and colorful childlike illustrations. Chosen for inclusion on our list is his book, *Umbrella*. Though initially printed in 1958, it remains a classic for the youngest readers. Children enjoy the universal experience of Momo, a Japanese American child born in New York. Yashima builds a tone of anticipation and excitement as Momo waits to use her new boots and umbrella. When the rain arrives, Momo dis-

Recommended Asian American literature for children

Title	Author
A Is for Aloha	Feeney
The Best Bad Thing	Uchida
Child of the Owl	Yep
Children of the River	Crew
Dragonwings	Yep
First Snow	Coutant
The Happiest Ending	Uchida
The Invisible Thread	Uchida
A Jar of Dreams	Uchida
Journey Home	Uchida
The Journey: Japanese Americans, Racism, and Renewal	Hamanaka
Journey to Topaz	Uchida
The Lost Garden: A Memoir	Yep
A River Dream	Say
Samurai of Gold Hill	Uchida
Sea Glass	Yep
The Star Fisher	Yep
Umbrella	Yashima
Wingman	Pinkwater

covers not only how rain changes the way the city looks, but also how rain drops add a magical rhythm to life. The use of rich language in this simple story imitates the music of rain.

An alphabet book presenting a unique look at Asian Americans is *A Is for Aloha* published by the University of Hawaii Press. Written by Stephanie Feeney (1985) for young readers, the book depicts each letter of the alphabet with superb black and white photos. Every photo focuses upon a segment of Hawaiian American life and includes concepts with which all children can identify. For example, a close-up picture shows Asian American youngsters heartily devouring *udon*, a type of noodle soup, to represent the letter *E* for eating. This book is a prime example of an accurate portrayal of Asian American experience that also represents aspects of childhood that are universal to all children. For young children, commonalities can provide bridges between individuals and enhance understanding of differences. Books like this one serve as cultural windows by providing accurate and positive depictions of the Asian American community.

In the book *A River Dream*, written and illustrated by Allen Say (1988), readers are introduced to a story about a young Asian American, who, sick in bed, dreams about being out on the river fishing with his uncle. This picture book has vibrant colors and realistic illustrations; through the use of effective illustrations, the visual portrayal reinforces the individualism of the uncle and yet serves to maintain his membership as an Asian American. The topic of fishing adds an element of real life because it accurately portrays an activity that was and still is an important industry for many Asian Americans. In addition, sport fishing is a form of recreation enjoyed by Asian Americans and others of all ages. The author conveys the excitement of fly fishing and weaves the issue of protecting the environment into the story line. The book is an excellent example of placing Asian Americans in contemporary experiences without need for continued stereotyped portrayal in traditional settings such as Chinatown, Little Tokyo, or Little Saigon.

Another distinguished book on the list is *First Snow*, written by Helen Coutant (1974) and illustrated by Vo-Dinh. This book for elementary-age children is a warm and touching story about a Vietnamese American girl, Lien, who is afraid of her grandmother's imminent death. Lien wrestles with the sadness and lonely feelings of losing her grandmother. Through her grandmother's Buddhist viewpoint, Lien learns that dying should not be approached with sorrow for it is part of the cycle of life and that her grandmother's soul will survive in a different form. Though it may be difficult for children not to be sad upon the death of a loved one, this book gives all readers an expanded perspective on death that reflects a different cultural orientation showing death and life as two sides of the same existence.

Another book for the primary-grade reader is *Wingman* by Manus Pinkwater (1975). This short novel is an exciting story about Donald Chen, a Chinese American native New Yorker, who felt alienated from school and created his own comic book hero, Wingman, to help him with the difficulties he experienced. Pinkwater has carefully presented Chinese American values, particularly that of family pride. In the novel the young boy is in need of a warm coat, and though the teacher is happy to help furnish one, his father feels shamed because of his inability to provide for his son's needs. Pinkwater masterfully creates a hero all children would love to know. The comic book hero is a Chinese American adult who knows the problems Donald is confronting and endeavors to understand him. In addition, all children benefit from seeing heroes who come from diverse cultural backgrounds. Pinkwater portrays the strengths of the Chinese American family and reveals how a teacher was able to encourage the work of an individual child by valuing the child's abilities and cultural background.

A book for intermediate-grade readers is Uchida's *Samurai of Gold Hill*. Uchida (1972) provides her readers with the opportunity to explore the experience of the first Japanese American community in the United States called the Wakamatsu Colony. This is an account of the hopes and hardships faced by the first Japanese American settlers as they tried to conquer disappointments and tragedies in Gold Hill, California. Although their dream of founding a tea and silkworm farm was never realized, readers come to understand the courage of early Japanese Americans. The Japanese American community later was recognized for its leadership in the development of agriculture in California.

Uchida has also written a trilogy of novels about Rinko Tsujimura, an 11-year-old Japanese American girl. *A Jar of Dreams* (1981), *The Best Bad Thing* (1983), and *The Happiest Ending* (1985) show the warmth and love of family in Japanese American communities. Written for the intermediate reader, these books exemplify Uchida's ability to incorporate Japanese American values into her stories. Rinko is a sensitive girl who is trying to understand her bicultural identity from both a Japanese and an American perspective. She loves her country yet has strong Japanese values such as duty toward family, the importance of education, and harmonious interactions with others. Rinko comes to understand how she is able to draw strength from both her American and Japanese identities. Uchida demonstrates her expertise in providing contemporary Asian American youth with a strong protagonist who deals with universal problems of not being understood by parents and an older sibling.

Children of the River by Linda Crew (1989) is a powerful depiction of the life of Sundara, a Cambodian American high school student. Readers learn of the tragic circumstances that led Sundara and her uncle, aunt, grandmother, and cousins to a small town in Oregon. Crew paints a compelling story of the cultural conflicts between the traditional Cambodian lifestyle and Sundara's mainstream schoolmates. Much of Sundara's life is shaped by old country values, and she learns to deal with strong intergenerational differences. Crew weaves much history of many Cambodian refugees into the story to give readers a glimpse into how war separated and destroyed many families. This book is a moving portrait of tragedies of war. Readers can be helped to understand the hardships and agonizing choices that many Southeast-Asian Americans made before fleeing from their homelands. This book depicts the psychological scars that affect many Southeast-Asian youth resulting from the devastating loss of their countries. Crew is able to present the feelings of hopelessness intertwined with courage in Sundara and her family as they attempt to rebuild their lives in the United States.

Another selection is the 1976 Newbery Honor award novel, *Dragonwings*, by Laurence Yep (1975). As the most prolific Chinese American writer for children, Yep, a native of San Francisco, California, has written a complex and poignant novel for middle school readers. *Dragonwings* is a fictionalized account of the first Chinese American aviator, Fung Joe Guey. Yep spent many hours in preparation for the book; descriptions of the living conditions in San Francisco in the early 1900s are carefully written. In the story, a young boy, Moon Shadow, leaves his mother in China and joins his father, Windrider, who lives in the land of the Golden Mountain. Together they work to fulfill the father's dream of building an airplane. The book makes a powerful statement about the prejudicial conditions under which early Chinese Americans lived and becomes a celebration of their determination to create a better life for forthcoming generations. Yep has also given readers the gift of contemporary fiction with other Chinese American protagonists in *Child of the Owl* (1977), *Sea Glass* (1979), and *The Star*

Fisher (1991), which send messages about how cultural heritage enriches life and about the importance of knowing oneself.

Two recent autobiographies of Asian American children's authors, *The Invisible Thread* (1991) and *The Lost Garden* (1991), are excellent resources for intermediate-level readers. In *The Invisible Thread*, Uchida describes how her Japanese heritage was an invisible yet strong thread of values and beliefs in herself. This thread kept her strong and courageous when her dreams and hopes seemed so unreachable during World War II and the internment. Uchida's vital message reminds us that it is the responsibility of all Americans to protect human and civil rights.

Like Uchida, Yep's book also touches on the warmth of family and insecurities of growing up in the United States. Yep writes about his search for dignity as a Chinese American. As a youngster he was painfully aware of ethnic prejudice and not knowing where he fit in society. In *The Lost Garden*, Yep talks about how being Chinese "is a part of me from the deepest level of my soul to my most common, everyday actions." This book also provides the reader with insights of how Yep draws on his own life when creating characters for his books. Members of his family are found sprinkled throughout his writings. His father was Windrider in *Dragonwings*, his grandmother was Paw-Paw in *Child of the Owl*, and his mother's early life in West Virginia gave him the seed for his book *The Star Fisher*. Yep writes from the memories of his family garden, and his readers reap the fruits of the harvest.

The final book selected for inclusion on our list is *The Journey: Japanese Americans, Racism, and Renewal*, written and illustrated by Sheila Hamanaka (1990). This is a remarkable picture book for readers from Grade 3 through high school because of the depth of text and haunting illustrations. The author tells the story of members of the Japanese community in the United States as they struggled to survive, all the while believing in justice and freedom. The illustrations are from a five-panel mural Hamanaka painted to depict her family history. Readers are likely to be swept up in the author's personal story woven through this factual recounting of the experiences of Japanese Americans.

This book begins with the struggle of Japanese Americans early in the 20th century as laborers in truck farming and fishing. It is from the result of such experiences that a strong sense of community developed and enabled its members to endure the racial discrimination directed toward them. From the perspective of a Japanese American, the author describes events of World War II, focusing particularly on the internment of Japanese Americans. This book chronicles the tragedy of this group of Americans who were herded like animals into detention facilities by their own government only to experience desolation, death, and despair. Japanese Americans who volunteered to serve in the U.S. Armed Forces are shown helping to liberate the Jews in Nazi concentration camps in Europe, while their own families were imprisoned at home. The final portion of the book describes the effort of the Japanese American Citizens League working diligently with others to request that the United States government address the serious mistake of the internment. Their efforts to get all Americans to realize the importance of protecting the civil rights of *every* citizen, regardless of ethnic background, have been significant.

Symbolism, present throughout the selection, is particularly evident in the visual portrayal of Noh masks as well as the carp. In the use of such symbols the author seems to be asking readers to remove their masks of indifference and to be strong like the carp whose strength of character provides the fortitude to fight for social justice. Reading this book can help students understand how the issues of the past serve as integral elements of our lives today. Readers will come away from the book with the message that it is the responsibility of all Americans to be diligent in their protection of equal rights.

Conclusion

We believe a conscious process of selecting children's books can benefit both students and teachers. Educators who have used children's books will understand the power literature has in stimulating thinking, conveying messages to readers, and helping students understand the stories in their own lives. We hope that teachers will select books that move beyond dragons and chopsticks to issues of civil rights and the humanity of Asian Americans. When teachers apply the criteria we have described in selecting books for the classroom, we believe the potential is great to enrich and expand children's perceptions about the evolving and diverse nature of contemporary American life. Our common future is dependent upon our collective commitment to provide children with opportunities to examine social problems from multiple perspectives and then to build collective solutions.

The recommended books provide insights into the lifestyles and values of Asian American people. Many messages in the books are universal and timeless, yet they are presented with an Asian American world view. Use of these books will encourage more children to develop an enriched vision of life that is full of hope, courage, and justice.

Author Notes

Asian and Pacific Islander Americans represent extremely diverse communities and may include the following: Cambodian, Chinese, East Indian, Filipino, Guamanian, Hawaiian, Hmong, Indonesian, Japanese, Laotian, Samoan, and Vietnamese heritages. The U.S. Bureau of the Census also lists smaller Asian American groups within the category of other Asians: These groups are Bangladeshi, Bhutanese, Bornean, Burmese, Celbesian, Cernan, Indochinese, Iwo Jiman, Javanese, Malayan, Maldivian, Nepali, Okinawan, Sikkimese, Singaporean, and Sri Lankan. For more information, see *Asian Americans: Growth, Change, and Diversity*, written by Robert W. Gardner, Bryant Robey, and Peter Smith and published by the Population Reference Bureau (1985).

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Teaching Multicultural Literature in the Reading Curriculum

Donna E. Norton

This chapter presents a five-step sequence of study of multicultural literature appropriate for use with upper elementary and middle school students or with university students in children's literature courses. After providing a rationale for the use of multicultural literature, I describe the sequence of study and present a detailed example of how it can be used to study literature dealing with Native American cultural groups. I conclude with descriptions of how the sequence can be used and adapted with literature dealing with black and Hispanic cultural groups.

Why Study Multicultural Literature?

Developing understanding of our literary heritage whether it is European, African, Native American, Hispanic, or Asian is one of the most important tasks for educators. Experts in multicultural education frequently emphasize the importance of using literature to increase cultural awareness. For example, Tway (1989) maintains that multicultural literature is essential in the classroom because these materials meet the needs of students and help them grow in understanding of themselves and others. Piper (1986) found that using traditional folklore from various cultural sources helps students develop awareness of different language and cultural backgrounds.

Through carefully selected and shared literature, students learn to understand and to appreciate a literary heritage that comes from many diverse backgrounds. Through this literature, students learn to identify with people who created the stories, whether from the past or the present. From the past, they discover folk tales, fa-

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bles, myths, and legends that clarify the values and beliefs of the people. They discover the great stories on which whole cultures have been founded. From the present, they discover the threads that weave the past with the present and the themes and values that continue to be important to the people.

Of equal value are the personal gains acquired by students when they read great works from their own cultural backgrounds and those of other cultures. They gain understandings about different beliefs and value systems. They develop social sensitivity to the needs of others and realize that people have similarities as well as differences. Students gain aesthetic appreciation as they learn to understand and respect the artistic contributions of people from many cultural backgrounds. Multicultural literature helps students expand their understanding of geography and natural history, increase their understanding of historical and sociological change, broaden their appreciation for literary techniques used by authors from different cultural backgrounds, and improve their reading, writing, and thinking abilities.

Transmitting these goals, no matter how worthy, is a difficult task. Support for a study of the various cultures that begins with the oral traditions of the people (folk tales, fables, myths, and legends) and the history of the people is found in the writings of numerous authorities in folklore, anthropology, and multicultural education. For example, Campbell (1988) stresses that myths from all cultures are powerful literature and should be read and understood by everyone. He maintains that myths are as important today as they were in earlier times because the myths (1) allow people to experience the awe of the universe, (2) show the shape and mystery of the universe, (3) support and validate the social order within the culture, and (4) teach people how to live within that culture.

Writings of Native American and Hispanic authors who are involved in multicultural education emphasize the importance of the ancient folklore in their own lives as well as in the lives of others. Allen (1988) believes that to understand America all students must understand the Native American traditions and history and see the continuity of cultural origins. Anzaldua (1988) emphasizes the importance of the ancient *cuentos* (oral folk tales) and Aztec stories that were a vivid part of her Mexican heritage and that allowed her to "see a mosaic pattern (Aztec-like) emerging, a weaving pattern...and to see a preoccupation with the deep structure, the underlying structure" (p. 30). Anzaldua argues that all American students need to understand the mythological structures of North America. These mythological structures, along with the folk tales, fables, and legends of the people, allow students to understand the beliefs and values of a people, to recognize the continuity of these beliefs and values in more contemporary literature, and to authenticate biographies, historical fiction, and contemporary literature.

A Five-Phase Model for Studying Multicultural Literature

The model for teaching multicultural literature and the instructional strategies presented in this article evolved over approximately 10 years of trying different approaches with undergraduate and graduate classes, conducting research in elementary and middle school classes, evaluating multicultural literature, and developing inservice activities. My own research and experience, as well as a search through the scholarly literature, supports a sequence of study in multicultural literature that begins with the folklore of the people as emphasized by Campbell (1988), Allen (1988), Anzaldua (1988), and Piper (1986) and proceeds from ancient to contemporary literature. For example, both Ballinger (1984) and Dorris (1979) recommend a sequence of study of Native American literature that begins with a study of broad oral traditions, narrows to specific tribal experiences as expressed in mythology, continues with a biographical and autobiographical study of specific cultural areas, and concludes with a study of contemporary Native American writing. Dorris supports this sequence when he states:

> To investigate any Native American literature one must examine its evolution and development through time; one must know something of the language—its rules, its implied world view—of its creation; one must know something of the culture's history of contacts with other peoples, both Native American and Euro-American; and one must know something of the modern social setting of the culture. (p. 157)

The sequence of study described in this article and implemented with both children's literature classes and elementary and middle school students modifies the Ballinger (1984) and Dorris (1979) models and emphasizes literature written for children and adolescents. This study, outlined in Table 1 on the next page, is a five-phase approach that (1) begins with a broad awareness of folk tales, fables, myths, and legends from one cultural group (e.g., Native American or Canadian, black/African, or Aztec); (2) narrows to the folk tales, fables, myths, and legends of one or two tribal or cultural areas (e.g., Native American myths and legends from the Plains Indians or Indians of the Southwest pueblos; black folk tales from the southern United States; Hispanic, Mayan, or Aztec folk tales and legends from Central American, Mexico, or the southwestern part of the United States)'; (3) proceeds to autobiographies, biographies, and informational literature from an earlier time in history; (4) continues with historical fiction; and (5) concludes with contemporary realistic fiction, poetry, and biography written for children by authors whose work represents that cultural group.

When teaching this approach, follow the sequence with one cultural group and then proceed in the same manner to another cultural group. As you focus on each phase, the students are developing understandings that build upon each other. For example, students are able to identify the traditional values and beliefs of the people as represented in their folk tales, fables, myths, and legends. They are able to use this same knowledge later when they search for values and beliefs found in historical fiction, biographies, and even contemporary poetry and realistic fiction. They use the knowledge gained from analyzing nonfictional historical literature and biographies to evaluate the appropriateness and authenticity of historical fiction. They search for threads that may be found in the literature as the authors build upon their own cultural experiences or try to write stories that reflect another culture. As students and teachers proceed through the study, they are able to make cross-cultural comparisons that allow them to see similarities and to value differences within cultures.

The following discussion of each phase uses Native American examples. The activities are appropriate for students in the fourth through eighth grades although some of the books are appropriate for younger students, and the activities may be simplified to be used with them. Following the discussion of Phase V is a list of books about the black and Hispanic cultures that may be used for this same sequence.

It should be noted that even though there are fewer literature selections written about multicultural populations (Frederick, 1990), the study is easier with Native American, Canadian, or black literature because there are more books available. However, there are fewer books in English about Hispanic cultures or the native cultures of Spanish-speaking regions, and the books that are available tend to go out of print rapidly (Norton, 1986). An analysis of two recent lists of notable books shows the difficulty in locating multicultural literature. The 55 titles on The Best Books of the Year 1989 (Jones, Toth, & Gerhardt, 1989) include 1 black, 1 Native

Table 1 Sequence for multicultural literature study

Phase I: **Traditional literature**
(Generalizations and broad views)
- A. Identify distinctions among folktale, fable, myth, and legend
- B. Identify ancient stories that have commonalities and are found in many regions
- C. Identify types of stories that dominate the subject
- D. Summarize the nature of oral language, role of traditional literature, role of audience, and literary style

Phase II: **Traditional tales from one area**
(Narrower view)
- A. Analyze traditional myths and other story types and compare with Phase I findings
- B. Analyze and identify values, beliefs, and themes in the traditional tales of one region

Phase III: **Autobiographies, biographies, and historical nonfiction**
- A. Analyze for values, beliefs, and themes identified in traditional literature
- B. Compare information in historical documents with autobiographies and biographies

Phase IV: **Historical fiction**
- A. Evaluate according to authenticity of setting, conflicts, characterization, theme, language, and traditional beliefs and values
- B. Search for role of traditional literature
- C. Compare with nonfictional autobiographies, biographies, and historical information

Phase V: **Contemporary fiction, biography, and poetry**
- A. Analyze the inclusion of any beliefs and values identified in traditional literature and biographical literature
- B. Analyze characterization and conflicts
- C. Analyze themes and look for threads across the literature

American, and no Hispanic works. The 67 titles on the 1990 Notable Children's Books for 1990 (Booklist Committee, 1990) include 7 black, 2 Native American, and no Hispanic works.

Studying the various cultures of the Hispanic areas is also complex because the literature comes from so many different sources. Griego y Maestas and Anaya (1980) point out both the importance of the folklore tradition and the complexity of the Hispanic culture in their introduction to their collection of Hispanic folk tales collected from the American Southwest:

> The narrations which follow are a great part of the soul of our culture, and they reflect the values of our forefathers....The stories also reflect a history of thirteen centuries of cultural infusing and blending in the Hispano mestizaje, from the Moors and Jews of Spain, to the orientals in the Philippines, Africans in the Caribbean, and the Indians in America—be they Aztec, Apache or Pueblo. (p. 4)

Because of these interactions, students frequently find it easier to study the Hispanic literature after they have studied Native American and black literature. Another benefit of the earlier studies emerges when students are able to make comparisons across cultures and to identify the results of cultural infusion.

An Example of the Five-Phase Model: Native American Literature Study

• Phase I

Before beginning a study of Native American folk tales, fables, myths, and legends, discuss the importance of the oral tradition in transmitting the beliefs and values of the people. Make sure that students know the background of the oral tradition. They should understand that oral tales were handed down for many generations before they were transcribed into written form. In addition, review the distinctions among folk tale, fable, myth, and legend (Norton, 1987a).

Show and discuss a map of North America so that students understand the diversity of locations that could be selected for a study of Native American folklore. Bierhorst's *The Mythology of North America* (1985) includes a useful map of North American mythological regions.

Next, collect as many examples of North American Indian folklore as possible. The students will use these texts to find examples of and to categorize stories that meet Bierhorst's (1976) story types found in Native American folklore: (1) creation myths that show how physical or social order was brought to the tribal world; (2) tales that deal with family and tribal drama, needs, and conflicts; (3) trickster tales that represent fair and foul actions; and (4) crossing-the-threshold tales that reflect major changes such as going in and out of the animal world, leaving childhood for adulthood, and going from life to death.

Stories that meet these requirements are found in both single volumes of children's literature and anthologies. (References for all children's and young adult books are listed alphabetically by author in separate listings for Native American, black, and Hispanic culture groups at the end of the article.) For example, myths that emphasize setting the world in order may focus on creating the earth and earth's various animal and plant life. Earth creation myths are frequently Earth-Diver tales such as *The Adventures of Nanabush: Ojibway Indian Stories* retold by Coatsworth and Coatsworth and "Turtle Dives to the Bottom of the Sea," a Maidu tale from California retold in Virginia Hamilton's *In the Beginning: Creation Stories From Around the World*. Hamilton's "Old Man the Creator" is a myth about how animals were created. Tales such as Esbensen's Ojibway tale *The Star Maiden* account for the creation of plants.

Family drama tales focus on various family needs and conflicts such as learning from elders, providing protection, obtaining food, and overcoming problems. The family in these stories may be the smaller tribal unit or the greater cosmos. If the tale deals with the greater world family, the storyteller may refer to Earth as mother, Sky as father, and Humanity as children. Many of these stories reveal tribal standards. Several tales in Monroe and Williamson's *They Dance in the Sky: Native American Star Myths* illustrate universal family concerns and appropriate behaviors. Spencer's *Who Speaks for Wolf* deals with tribal needs and respect for animals.

Trickster tales reveal both good and bad conduct. Trickster characters are found throughout North America. On the northwestern coast of the Pacific Ocean, trickster is called Raven. Coyote, who may be a creator or a trickster, is a popular character in the Great Plains. Iktomi is the Sioux name for trickster. Books such as Gobel's *Iktomi and the Boulder: A Plains Indian Story*, Anderson's *Trickster Tales From Prairie Lodgefires*, and Robinson's *Raven the Trickster* encourage students to analyze the characteristics of trickster tales.

Numerous Native American tales depict crossing various thresholds. Transformations that allow characters to go into and out of the animal world are especially popular in stories retold for children. Both Cleaver's Inuit tale *The Enchanted Caribou* and Gobel's Great Plains tale *Buffalo Woman* use transformations to show the bond between Native Americans and animals.

During Phase I, share and discuss tales such as these with students. Encourage them to identify commonalities and story types as they read folklore from numerous tribal areas. Through their reading, students will discover that many traditional tales have elements that include several of these folklore types. For example, ask them to read Bierhorst's *The Ring in the Prairie: A Shawnee Legend* and to identify elements related to fair and foul tricksters, to crossing thresholds, and to family dramas.

Before leaving Phase I of this study, summarize the generalizations that students have made about Native American folklore. To gain a better understanding of the oral language of the folklore, have them develop a storytelling activity that closely resembles the story openings, storytelling style, and story closings of several Native American peoples (Norton, 1987a), and ask them to summarize discoveries about the oral language style of Native American folklore.

• Phase II

During Phase II, the emphasis narrows to the folklore of one or two Native American peoples. If the students can work well in groups, the teacher may choose several tribal regions and allow each group to do an in-depth study of the folklore of that region. There are many examples of folklore from the Plains Indians, from the Southwest Pueblo peoples, and from the Pacific Northwest. During Phase II, students search for characteristics and story types and compare these with findings from Phase I. If there are variants in story types, they search for cultural and geographical reasons why these variants would be found. They identify the philosophy, values, and beliefs of the specific people as reflected in the folklore.

At this point in the study, locate as many folk tales, myths, and legends as possible from the specific regions to be studied. Native American folklore provides an excellent source for identifying and understanding traditional values and beliefs. Several sources provide useful documentation for traditional Native American values and beliefs that are also found in the folklore. For example, *Human Behavior and American Indians* (Hanson & Eisenbise, 1983) documents traditional values and compares them to urban industrial values. *The Journal of American Indian Education* (Spang, 1965) identifies traditional North American Indian cultural values, and the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards (Ross & Brave Eagle, 1975) identifies traditional Lakota values.

During Phase II, students may search for evidence of these traditional values within the specific folklore. For example, a review of the Lakota values indicates that values such as living in harmony with nature, viewing religion as being closely related to nature, respecting bravery, honoring wisdom gained through age and experience, acquiring patience, and emphasizing group and extended family needs are also dominant themes in the traditional literature from groups living on the Great Plains.

After reading and analyzing folklore from the Great Plains, students will discover that living in harmony with nature is a dominant theme in dePaola's retelling of the Comanche tale *The Legend of the Bluebonnet*. The theme is developed when selfishly taking from the land is punished by drought, while unselfishly giving of a prized possession is rewarded with bluebonnets and rain. The restorative power of nature is found in Bierhorst's *The Ring in the Prairie: A Shawnee Legend*. The strong interactions between the buffalo and the Great Plains Indians are developed in both Baker's *Where the Buffaloes Begin* and Gobel's *Buffalo Woman*. Bravery and obedience to the Creator are valued in Gobel's Blackfoot tale *Star Boy*. Children's anthologies such as Grinnell's *The Whistling Skeleton: American Indian Tales of the Supernatural* include several stories from the Great Plains. In addition to numerous children's sources, teachers will find adult sources such as Welsch's *Omaha Tribal Myths and Trickster Tales* (1981), Boyd's *Kiowa Voices* (1981), Erdoes and Ortiz's *American Indian Myths and Legends* (1984), and Bierhorst's *The Mythology of North America* (1985) to be very informative, and they may be used for oral storytelling.

During Phase II, students should read multiple tales from a specific region and identify the dominant values, beliefs, and themes found in that literature. Teachers may help students identify these values and beliefs by having them compare answers to a series of questions. For example, the following questions and answers (Norton, 1985, pp. 387–389) reveal important values found in the Comanche tale *The Legend of the Bluebonnet*:

Q: What is the major problem?
A: Drought and famine are killing the Comanche people.
Q: What reward is desired by the Comanche people in the tale?
A: They want to end the drought and famine and save the land and the people.
Q: What actions in the tale are rewarded or admired by the people?
A: A reward is given to the people when a girl sacrifices a loved object to save the tribe and obeys the will of the Great Spirit.
Q: What actions of the people are punished or despised?
A: Actions that are punished include selfishness and taking from the earth without giving something back.
Q: What rewards are given to the heroes, heroines, or great people?
A: The heroine and the people are given rain and bluebonnets, beautiful flowers that are a sign of forgiveness. The heroine is given an honored name change.
Q: What are the personal characteristics of the heroes, heroines, or great people?
A: The heroine unselfishly loves her people. She is willing to give her most prized possession. She places the needs of the people above her individual needs.

Students will discover through this technique many of the traditional values that are important to Native American people. Students should summarize the values, beliefs, and themes found in the traditional literature of a specific people and compare the types of stories found in Phase I and Phase II. As a conclusion to Phase II, older students may analyze Highwater's *Anpao: An American Indian Odyssey*. This story contains a number of traditional Native American tales.

• Phase III

By this time in the study of multicultural literature, students have gained considerable understanding of the people and their culture. Students can now use this information as they read, analyze, and evaluate both nonfictional and fictional literature. During Phase III, students read and evaluate nonfictional literature that reflects the historical perspective. This literature includes historical informational books, biographies, and autobiographies. As students read this literature they use knowledge gained from Phases I and II to evaluate the inclusion of accurate values, beliefs, and philosophies. Students should read a number of sources, evaluate the authenticity of historical information, and identify the historical happenings that influenced the culture.

Helping students evaluate children's biographies about earlier Native American characters is especially critical. Students should ask: Are the values, beliefs, and philosophies expressed by the biographical characters authentic? Do they correspond with the values and beliefs identified in the traditional literature? Are the historical settings and happenings authentic for the time period?

These questions are especially important because a study that compared juvenile biographies and adult biographies of Native American characters from the Great Plains (Norton, 1987b) showed considerable disparities when describing the consequences of cultural confrontation. When reporting the impact of cultural confrontation between Native Americans and Euro-Americans, juvenile biographies tend to deemphasize the impact of differences in beliefs, values, customs, and religion. In contrast, almost all of the adult autobiographies emphasize the vast cultural conflicts that resulted from differences in beliefs, values, customs, and religion. These differences were especially important in attitudes toward land and religion. Similar differences were found between juvenile biographies and adult autobiographies set in the Southwest and the Great Basin.

All of the biographies about this earlier period should be read with caution and even some skepticism. Morrison's *Chief Sarah: Sarah Winnemucca's Fight for Indian Rights*, a children's biography set in the Great Basin, is one of the strongest biographies of this earlier period. Morrison develops both conflicts caused by the European culture and the need to retain values of the Paiute Indians. As students read these biographies, they should search for continuity between Phases I, II, and III. They should also evaluate the authenticity of the historical backgrounds.

Two nonfictional books, Marrin's *War Clouds in the West: Indians & Cavalrymen, 1860–1890* and Freedman's *Buffalo Hunt*, provide historical perspectives for this earlier period.

• Phase IV

During Phase IV students read, analyze, and evaluate historical fiction according to authenticity of setting, credibility of conflict, believability of characterization, authenticity of traditional beliefs expressed by the characters, and appropriateness of themes and author's style. If students are focusing on literature from the Great Plains, Hudson's *Sweetgrass* is excellent for evaluating each of these topics. The setting is among the Blackfoot people in southern Canada. The conflict develops a person-against-society problem as the Native American characters face disruption of their lives caused by European expansion and smallpox. The person-against-self conflicts result when characters must overcome differences in belief systems or taboos to survive within their cultures. Without an understanding of Blackfoot values and beliefs, these conflicts would not seem believable. *Sweetgrass* is especially effective for showing students that language should reflect the people, the setting, and the time period. Hudson uses figurative language and prairie symbolism to describe characters, setting, and conflict.

Additional historical fiction that is effective for this purpose includes Mowat's *Lost in the Barrens* (northern Canada, Cree), O'Dell's *Sing Down the Moon* (southwest United States, Navajo), and Speare's *The Sign of the Beaver* (eastern United States, Penobscot). Both *Sweetgrass* and *Lost in the Barrens* are Canadian award-winning books. *Sing Down the Moon* and *The Sign of the Beaver* received Newbery Honor awards.

• Phase V

During the final phase, students should read, analyze, and evaluate contemporary poetry, fiction, and biography. Students search for evidence of continuity within the literature, examples of images, themes, values, and sources of conflict. Comparisons may be made between literature written by members of the cultural group and nonmembers.

For example, ask students to read children's poetry such as Highwater's *Moonsong Lullaby*. In this beautiful poem, they may identify mythological references, personification of nature, and foundations in traditional beliefs. They will discover very close relationships between the traditional literature read in Phases I and II and this contemporary poem. Sneve's collection, *Dancing*

Teepees: Poems of American Indian Youth, includes ancient and contemporary poems from various locations. Bruchac's adult collection, *Songs From This Earth on Turtle's Back: Contemporary American Indian Poetry* (1983), includes poems written by numerous poets with identified tribal affiliations. Some of these poems are appropriate for elementary and middle school students. These poems tend to reflect more conflicts as the poets focus on contemporary issues. Many of these poems show that the conflicts reflected in the historical literature in Phase III are still found in contemporary life.

Continuing the study of contemporary fiction written by Native American authors from the Great Plains, students may read and analyze books by Sneve such as *High Elk's Treasure*, *Jimmy Yellow Hawk*, and *When Thunder Spoke*. Sneve sets her stories among the Sioux peoples of South Dakota.

White Deer of Autumn's contemporary story *Ceremony—In the Circle of Life* provides an excellent text for showing the comparisons in values between folklore and realistic fiction. For example, teachers might ask students the same series of questions that accompanied *The Legend of the Bluebonnet* in Phase II:

Q: What is the major problem?
A: Humans are destroying the land.
Q: What reward is desired by the Native American boy in the story?
A: He wants to comfort and honor Mother Earth and to teach humans to take care of the Earth.
Q: What actions in the story are rewarded or admired by the people?
A: The actions that are admired include honoring and caring for Mother Earth, living in harmony with nature, and acquiring knowledge and truth.
Q: What actions of the people are punished or despised?
A: The Native American characters despise polluting and destroying the earth.
Q: What rewards are given to the story heroes?
A: The hero receives a living pipe that symbolizes his vision of the earth, new strength, and knowledge and understanding.
Q: What are the personal characteristics of the heroes?
A: The main Native American character loves the land and the animals, respects the Star Spirit and the traditional ways of the People, and wants to gain knowledge and truth.

Students should compare the results from Phases II and V and consider the significance of similarities.

Older students may read and analyze Highwater's Ghost Horse cycle, which traces three generations of a Great Plains family in *Legend Days*, *The Ceremony of Innocence*, and *I Wear the Morning Star*. Highwater's texts are filled with symbolism and mythological references as the characters struggle for survival in a changing world. Even college students say that their understanding of and appreciation for Highwater's text is greatly improved by their previous study of traditional literature and nonfictional sources.

Students may conclude their study of Native American literature by tracing the threads that emerged across the various genres of literature. They should consider what they have discovered about a people and the literature that helped formulate their foundations.

Black Literature Study

This same approach may be used with the study of black literature. Adult sources that are especially useful for providing information about folklore and the cultural values depicted in the folklore include Abraham's *African Folktales* (1983), Frobenius and Fox's *African Genesis* (1983), Lindfors's *Forms of Folklore in Africa* (1977), and Ross and Walker's *On Another Day...: Tales Told Among the Nkundo of Zaire* (1979). Table 2 presents several examples of

Table 2 Five-phase approach with black literature

Phase I: African roots through traditional literature
Bryan's *Beat the Story-Drum, Pum-Pum*
Bryan's *Lion and the Ostrich Chicks*
Bryan's *Turtle Knows Your Name*
Carew's *Children of the Sun*
Carew's *The Third Gift*
Courlander's *The Crest and the Hide: And Other African Stories of Heroes, Chiefs, Bards, Hunters, Sorcerers and Common People*
Grifalconi's *The Village of Round and Square Houses*
Haley's *A Story, A Story*
Hamilton's *In the Beginning: Creation Stories From Around the World*
Knutson's *Why the Crab Has No Head*
Lester's *How Many Spots Does a Leopard Have? and Other Tales*
Steptoe's *Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters: An African Tale*

Phase II: Extension of tales into folklore of the American Plantation South
Hamilton's *The People Could Fly: American Black Folktales*
Harris's *Jump! The Adventures of Brer Rabbit*
Harris's *Jump Again! More Adventures of Brer Rabbit*
Jaquith's *Bo Rabbit Smart for True: Folktales From the Gullah*
Keats's *John Henry: An American Legend*
Langstaff's *What a Morning! The Christmas Story in Black Spirituals*
Lester's *The Tales of Uncle Remus: The Adventures of Brer Rabbit*
Lester's *More Tales of Uncle Remus: Further Adventures of Brer Rabbit, His Friends, Enemies, and Others*
McKissack's *Flossie & the Fox*
Sanfield's *The Adventures of High John the Conqueror*
San Souci's *The Talking Eggs: A Folktale From the American South*

Phase III: Historical biographies and nonfiction
Ferris's *Go Free or Die: A Story of Harriet Tubman*
Hamilton's *Anthony Burns: The Defeat and Triumph of a Fugitive Slave*
Meltzer's *The Black Americans: A History in Their Own Words*
McKissack's *A Long Hard Journey: The Story of the Pullman Porter*
Miller's *Frederick Douglass and the Fight for Freedom*
Mitchell's *Shoes for Everyone: A Story About Jan Matzeliger*
Patterson's *Frederick Douglass: Freedom Fighter*

Phase IV: Historical fiction
Hamilton's *The Bells of Christmas*
Hurmence's *A Girl Called Boy* (fantasy with historical setting)
Monjo's *The Drinking Gourd*
Taylor's *The Gold Cadillac*
Taylor's *Let the Circle Be Unbroken*
Taylor's *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry*

(continued)

Table 2 Five-phase approach with black literature (continued)

Phase V: Contemporary poetry, biography, and fiction

Poetry of Langston Hughes, Gwendolyn Brooks, Tom Feelings, and Eloise Greenfield
Biographies of such people as Martin Luther King, Jr., Barbara Jordan, Malcolm X, Langston Hughes, and Arthur Mitchell
Clifton's *Everett Anderson's Goodbye*
Davis's *Langston: A Play*
Flournoy's *The Patchwork Quilt*
Greenfield's *Nathaniel Talking*
Greenfield's *Sister*
Greenfield's *Under the Sunday Tree* (poetry)
Hamilton's *The House of Dies Drear*
Hamilton's *Junius Over Far*
Hamilton's *Zeely*
Little's *Children of Long Ago* (poetry)
Mathis's *The Hundred Penny Box*
Myers's *Scorpions*
Patterson's *Martin Luther King, Jr.*
Tobias's *Arthur Mitchell*
Walter's *Justin and the Best Biscuits in the World*

literature that are appropriate for a study of black literature.

Hispanic Literature Study

As noted earlier, the study of literature from Hispanic areas is more complex than a study of Native American and black literature. The sources may be from South or Central America, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Mexico, or the American Southwest. In addition, there are fewer books available. Consequently, teachers must search for sources from small publishing houses and even adult folklore journals such as *The Journal of American Folklore*. Of special concern is the lack of contemporary stories and biographies. Adult sources that provide background information include Bierhorst's *The Mythology of South America* (1988), Coe's *The Maya* (1984), Coe, Snow, and Benson's *Atlas of Ancient America* (1986), MacLean's *Cuentos: Based on the Folk Tales of the Spanish Californians* (1979), Paredes's *Folktales of Mexico* (1970), and Toor's *A Treasury of Mexican Folkways* (1985).

Table 3 follows the same format as the previous literature studies. Teachers may, however, choose to begin the study with Phase II or combine selections from Phases I and II. The stories listed in Phase II may be more familiar to the students than the Aztec and Maya stories listed in Phase I. There are also collections of folklore from several different countries. Teachers may choose to narrow this study to one specific country or area or to make specific comparisons between the folklore from different areas. Also note that the base will need to be broadened as the study progresses to Phase V. Many of the contemporary stories emphasize Puerto Rican or Cuban heroes and heroines.

Table 3 Five-phase approach with Hispanic area literature

Phase I: Ancient Aztec and Mayan folklore and poetry
Beal's *Stories Told by the Aztecs: Before the Spaniards Came*
Bierhorst's *The Hungry Woman: Myths and Legends of the Aztecs*
Bierhorst's *The Monkey's Haircut and Other Stories Told by the Maya*
Blackmore's *Why Corn Is Golden: Stories About Plants*
De Gerez's *My Song Is a Piece of Jade*
Hinojosa's *The Old Lady Who Ate People*
Kurtycz and Kobeh's *Tigers and Opossums: Animal Legends*
Lattimore's *The Flame of Peace: A Tale of the Aztecs*
Rohmer, Chow and Vidaure's *The Invisible Hunters*

Phase II: Narrowing the selections to newer Hispanic folktales and tales that reflect interactions with other cultures
Aardema's *The Riddle of the Drum: A Tale From Tizapan, Mexico*
Belpre's *Once in Puerto Rico*
Belpre's *The Rainbow-Colored Horse*
Bierhorst's *Doctor Coyote: A Native American Aesop's Fables*
Bierhorst's *Spirit Child: A Story of the Nativity*
dePaola's *The Lady of Guadalupe*
Finger's *Tales From Silver Lands*
Griego y Maestas and Anaya's *Cuentos: Tales From the Hispanic Southwest*
Rohmer and Wilson's *Mother Scorpion Country*

Phase III: Nonfictional literature that provides historical perspective
Burland's *An Aztec Town*
Marrin's *Aztecs and Spaniards: Cortes and the Conquest of Mexico*
Martinello and Nesmith's *With Domingo Leal in San Antonio, 1734*
Meyer and Gallenkamp's *The Mystery of the Ancient Maya*
Prago's *Strangers in Their Own Land: A History of Mexican-Americans*

Phase IV: Historical fiction
O'Dell's *Carlota*
O'Dell's *The King's Fifth*
O'Dell's *The Captive*, *The Feathered Serpent*, and *The Amethyst Ring*

Phase V: Contemporary Hispanic literature
Ashabranner's *Children of the Maya: A Guatemalan Indian Odyssey*
Beatty's *Lupita Manana*
Bethancourt's *T.H.U.M.B.B.*
Cisneros's *The House on Mango Street*
Hall's *Danza!*
Krumgold's *...And Now Miguel*
Meltzer's *The Hispanic Americans*
Mohr's *Felita*
Mohr's *Going Home*

(continued)

Table 3 Five-phase approach with Hispanic area literature (continued)

Mohr's *Chants* (poetry)
Pena's *Kikiriki: Stories and Poems in English and Spanish for Children*
Pena's *Tun-Ta-Ca-Tun: More Stories and Poems in English and Spanish for Children*
Phillips's *The Picture Story of Nancy Lopez*
Roberts's *Henry Cisneros: Mexican American Mayor*
White's *Cesar Chavez, Man of Courage*

Conclusion

The study of multicultural literature is a powerful means for literacy educators to help students develop an appreciation and understanding of their literary and cultural heritage. I hope that the five-phase model for studying multicultural literature presented in this article will help teachers and students begin to understand and value the cultural and literary diversity that is a part of our society.

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A Look at the Newbery Medal Books From a Multicultural Perspective

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Nearly every country in the world experiences cultural, linguistic, or ethnic diversity. Wherever countries contain regions with different language, ethnic, and cultural heritages, diversity exists. Whenever countries share borders, diversity exists (Saracho & Spodek, 1983).

With the increased emphasis on literature in the elementary schools and the integration of literature into the content areas, one logical way for schools to promote multicultural education is by including multicultural literature in the curriculum (Au, 1993). "Children need to discover what is unique to each group of persons and universal to the experience of being human" (Huck, Hepler, & Hickman, 1987, p. 502). Using children's literature can assist in developing and extending three major issues relevant to living in a multicultural society:

> First, literature can show how we are connected to one another through our emotions, our needs, our desires—experiences common to all.... Second...books can help us to understand, appreciate, and celebrate the differences among us—those things that make each cultural group special and enrich the larger society.... Third, literature can be used to develop an understanding of the effects of social issues and forces on the lives of ordinary individuals. (Bishop, 1987, p. 60)

Although books can never become substitutes for personal contact with others, they can help "raise the consciousness level of children and deepen their understanding of cultures different from theirs" (Huck et al., 1987, p. 501). Literature also plays a strong role in understanding and valuing each child's own cultural heritage: "Developing positive attitudes toward our own culture...is necessary for both social and personal development.... A positive self-concept is not possible unless we respect...ourselves"

(Norton, 1991, p. 2). Bruno Bettelheim (1977) suggests that, second only to parents, books provide the majority of information children learn about their ethnicity.

If children's books are to be used for the purposes of multicultural education, teachers must become familiar with suitable books. Analyzing all children's books to evaluate the multicultural content would be an impossible task. However, it is possible to evaluate some collections of books that would most likely be found in U.S. school or public libraries. One such collection is the Newbery Medal books. Each book receiving a Newbery Medal was judged "the most distinguished contribution to American literature for children published in the United States during the preceding year."

The purpose of this investigation was to identify the ethnicity of the characters found in the Newbery Medal books (1922–1994) and to analyze the characterization of the racial or ethnic group represented. To accomplish this task, two categorization systems were devised: one related to ethnic groups and one related to the role of the ethnic characters in the stories.

The categorization system used to define "ethnic groups" was the U.S. Department of Education (1990) ethnic group classifications. Their descriptions are as follows:

1. Black (not of Hispanic origin); Origins in any black racial group,
2. Hispanic: Origins of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish culture,
3. Asian or Pacific Islander: Origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, Indian subcontinent, or Pacific Islands,
4. American Indian or Alaskan Native: Origins in any of the original peoples of North America who maintain cultural identification through tribal affiliation or community recognition, and
5. White (not of Hispanic origin): Origins in any of the original people of Europe, North Africa, or the Middle East.

The second categorization system related to the role of the ethnic character in the story. If an ethnic character was the focus of the story, the character was labeled a main character. For example, *Amos Fortune: Free Man* is the story of a black man; therefore he was labeled a main character. If an ethnic character appeared in the story and contributed to the storyline, the character was labeled a minor character. In *The Voyages of Dr. Dolittle*, Dolittle and Tommy are the main characters; Bumpo, a black man, is mentioned briefly at the beginning of the story and then appears when Dolittle and Tommy are ready to take their trip. Thus, he was labeled a minor character. If a story made reference to an ethnic character, but the character did not contribute to the storyline, the character received a "mentioned" label. For example, in the story *Roller Skates*, Lucinda makes references to Faithful Black Susan, the cook, but Susan's character is never developed in the story.

Many of the Newbery Medal books contain white Anglo-Saxons as main characters, minor characters, or mentioned at some point in each story. Those books will not be discussed. Our purpose is not to isolate the Newbery Medal winners with characters from other ethnic backgrounds but rather to draw attention to them. The following is a summary (by decade) of the Newbery Medal books that portray people of various ethnic groups other than white Anglo-Saxons and the roles played by the characters in the stories.

1920–1929

During the 1920s, the first black, Hispanic, and Indian minor characters appear. Asians and Polish people also appear as main characters during this decade.

The first black minor character, Bumpo, is found in the 1923 winner, *The Voyages of Dr. Dolittle*. Bumpo Kahbooboo, Crown Prince of Jollinginki, is introduced briefly early in the story and then reappears as Dr. Dolittle prepares for his journey. Bumpo is described as an educated man and an eloquent speaker. Two groups of Indians are also encountered in this story. One group of Indians is peace loving, and the other is hostile.

The 1926 award winner, *Shen of the Sea*, is a collection of 16 Chinese tales with Chinese characters. Some of the tales are religious, some are violent, and some are tales of trickery. These tales cover such topics as how sea demons were captured to avoid flooding, how a boy's animal imitations affected his life, how greed affects people, how a king found an heir, how a prince defeated his enemy, how a woman saved her kingdom, and how some men became kings. Some of the stories explain how things such as printing, chopsticks, gunpowder, firecrackers, tea, kites, and china were invented.

The 1927 award winner, *Smoky, the Cowhorse*, is the first Newbery Medal book to portray a Hispanic minor character. Smoky is stolen from his owner, Clint, by a man described as "being a half-breed of Mexican and other blood that's darker" (p. 207). Much of the story focuses on the illegal activities of the Hispanic character and his inhumane treatment of the horses he steals.

The 1928 winner, *Gay-Neck: The Story of a Pigeon*, is the story of a boy from India and his pigeon, Gay-Neck. Gay-Neck's owner is very caring and loving toward his pigeon, which was to be expected because the art of domesticating pigeons goes back thousands of years in India, and all people in India respect pigeons. The narrator, his friend Radja, and Ghond, a teacher of jungle lore, travel about teaching direction to the pigeons. Gay-Neck becomes a carrier for the British War Department and carries very important messages during a war.

The Trumpeter of Krakow, the 1929 winner, is the story of a Polish man, Andrew Charnetski, and his family in Krakow, Poland, after the invasion of the Tartars. Joseph, Andrew's son, learns the trumpeter's song and uses this knowledge to save his family.

1930–1939

The Newbery Medal winners during the 1930s portray Indians, Italians, Asians, and blacks in minor roles. During this period, the first American Indian and first Bulgarian main character appear.

In the 1930 winner, *Hitty: Her First Hundred Years*, Hitty encountered Indian squaws who were "very fat and kind, rather brown and had somewhat untidy hair" (p. 20). Later, she finds "brown men with no clothes,...bands of metal on their wrists,...nose rings, and earrings under matted hair" (p. 53). In Bombay, she sees "whining beggars and throngs of robed and turbaned men" (p. 82) and "half-naked men with their legs or arms tied up in knots or with their bodies twisted in a manner both grotesque and horrible" (p. 83). Eventually Hitty is found by a couple of "Negro boys." The Negro family "sang strange, and often sad songs" (p. 175).

The Cat Who Went to Heaven, the 1931 winner, is a story about a Japanese artist who is commissioned to paint a picture of Buddha for the temple. Much of the book focuses on the religious significance of Buddha and the painting.

The first portrayal of the American Indian as a main character occurs in the 1932 award winner, *Waterless Mountain*. This is the story of a Navajo boy, Little Singer, and his family. Navajo customs, traditions, religious beliefs, and ceremonies (such as the wedding ceremony) are discussed in detail. This book provides rich descriptions of the Navajo Indians and their ways of life.

The 1933 winner, *Young Fu of the Upper Yangtze*, is a portrayal of a young Chinese boy, Young Fu, and his adventures as he and his mother move to a large city so that he can serve as a coppersmith's apprentice. There are many descriptive passages about the ways and traditions of the Chinese as well as their feelings about "foreigners": "Everything they do is the opposite of accepted custom…they have no polite rules of conduct" (p. 32).

Invincible Louisa, the 1934 winner, is the biography of Louisa May Alcott. Although the story contains many references to Negroes and blacks, they are not main or minor characters. When Louisa is young she is rescued by an unidentified "young Negro boy" who serves as her "proof of the humble kindliness of the Negro race" (p. 22). When Louisa becomes a nurse, she notices small black "imps" who run errands and steal things whenever they have a chance.

Dobry, the 1935 winner, focuses on the life of a Bulgarian boy. Dobry wants to become an artist; however, his mother opposes his life's ambition. She finally realizes his talent and sends him to school. This story is rich with descriptions of Bulgarian culture and traditions.

The 1936 winner, *Caddie Woodlawn*, is a story of Caddie Woodlawn's adventures. A small portion of the story focuses on Caddie's and her family's relationship with Indian John and his tribe. When the townspeople hear about other Indian attacks, they stereotype all Indians and speculate that Indian John and his tribe will attack their village, so they decide to attack the Indians first. Caddie warns Indian John, who comes to the village to defuse the situation; thus, Caddie and Indian John work together to prevent a potentially disastrous situation. One of the neighbors, Sam Hankinson, has three halfbreed children and an Indian wife. His wife remains outside while he and his children go to church. Caddie cannot figure out why Sam is so ashamed of his wife.

Roller Skates, the 1937 winner, is about a young girl who is left at home in the United States while her parents travel to Italy. Lucinda befriends a hard-working young Italian boy named Tony and helps him with a difficult situation. She believes she can learn about Italy through Tony. Faithful Black Susan, the cook, is mentioned briefly.

The White Stag, the 1938 Medal winner, chronicles the lives of Hungarians up to and including Attila the Hun. The story begins peacefully, emphasizing the religious beliefs of the Huns. When Attila is born, the mood of the story becomes dark: "a flaming red comet appeared over Europe striking terror into the hearts of all who saw it" (p. 67). Attila battles the great armies of Europe while seeking the promised land.

Thimble Summer, the 1939 winner, is about Garnet Linden, a young girl who lives in the country. She experiences several exciting adventures during the summer that she calls the "thimble summer." Indians are mentioned in a story told to Garnet by her Grandmother: "in would come the Indians, quiet as cats…. We would hear them grunt and sigh as they lay down in front of the fire…. we'd always find a present left behind in exchange for our fireside" (p. 20).

1940–1949

During the 1940s, a Polynesian boy, a Moroccan boy, and a Dutch boy are the main characters in Newbery Medal books. Indian, black, French, and Hispanic characters appear in several of the winners.

The 1940 winner, *Daniel Boone*, is the story of Daniel Boone's adventures while trying to advance white man's civilization. Indians are mentioned in the story several times. They are portrayed as bloodthirsty, savages, and fierce red warriors. An Indian's perspective of the white man appears in the story: "We took them to be friends…. We believed them…. They wanted more land. They wanted our country…. You have now become a great people and we have scarcely a place left to spread our blankets" (p. 40).

The 1941 winner, *Call It Courage*, is the story of a Polynesian boy, Mafatu, who is afraid of the sea. He is labeled a coward, so he leaves to prove his courage. Mafatu reaches a deserted island where the "eaters of men" make sacrifices to their god. These minor characters are portrayed as savages, and described as "figures as black as night's own face" (p. 82). The skin color of the people is mentioned twice more: "His black hand clutched the purau pole" (p. 84) and "the boy could see the shine of dark bodies" (p. 86).

The Matchlock Gun, the 1942 winner, is a true story. Edward Van Alstyne, a 10-year-old Dutch boy, defends his family during the French and Indian War with an ancient Spanish gun. "The Spaniards had once invaded that country and believed they had conquered it. That is something no one should believe, for the Dutch are never good at staying beaten" (p. x). The Van Alstyne family owns slaves who are mentioned briefly. Indians are referred to as savages and animals.

The 1944 Newbery Medal winner, *Johnny Tremain*, is about a young silversmith who loses the use of his right hand just prior to the Revolutionary War. He joins John Hancock, Paul Revere, Sam Adams, and others to fight the English. Blacks are referred to briefly as Negroes and colored, and Indians are also briefly mentioned.

The Twenty-One Balloons, the 1948 winner, is the story of Professor William Waterman Sherman who spends his first year of retirement flying in his balloon. Throughout the story, he recounts numerous adventures, some of which deal with ethnic characters. When a balloon gets loose, it lands on an Indian reservation. The Indians are portrayed as fearless and creative as they cut a hole in the balloon to make a new house for the Chief. In describing a black man, Sherman says: "I kept being reminded of a vaudeville act I had once seen.... A Negro clown dressed like a porter in a railroad station, played 'God Save the King' running back and forth on the stage with hammers, striking the ties of railroad tracks" (p. 178).

The 1949 winner, *King of the Wind: The Story of the Godolphin Arabian*, is the story of a mute Moroccan houseboy named Agba. He follows a pony through several owners until the horse wins a race. The Chief of the Grooms is also a Moroccan. Two minor male characters are French royalty.

1950–1959

The first black and Hispanic main characters appear in the Newbery Medal books during the 1950s. Dutch children also appear as main characters. Indians, Hispanics, and Scots play minor roles or are mentioned in Newbery Medal winners during this decade.

In the 1950 winner, *The Door in the Wall*, Robin, the son of a noble family in England during the plague and the rule of Edward III, is separated from his family during the war with the Scots. The Scots are mentioned in passing, "Scots are a stubborn race" (p. 42), but at one point a Scottish guard offers to help during a crisis.

The first black main character appears in the 1951 award winner, *Amos Fortune: Free Man*. This book is based on the true story of Amos Fortune, who was born the son of a king in Africa in 1710. The book chronicles his life as a slave until he becomes a free man at the age of 60. He overcomes many obstacles, learns a trade, and learns to read and write. When he dies, he is one of the most respected citizens in his village.

Ginger Pye, the 1952 winner, is the story of the Pye family. One short reference to Indians appears in the story: "The Indians seemed so real to Rachel she almost expected to see them posed, statue-like, behind every tree. Whenever she went walking...she had the feeling that Indians still lived there, that she would see them stealing from tree to tree.... In school they read and studied so much about the Indians that it seemed they must still be there, lurking in the woods" (p. 189).

Secret of the Andes, the 1953 winner, is an story about the Inca Indians. Cusi is an Inca boy who is searching for his heart's desire: a family. Spaniards are the enemy: "of another land, race, color, and creed. They come to conquer the Inca, to subdue the people, to rob their temples, and to destroy their gods. They kill the king of the Ancients, and ten thousand llamas" (pp. 22–23).

In the 1954 award winner, *...And Now Miguel*, the main character is Miguel Chavez, a 12-year-old boy of Spanish ancestry who lives in New Mexico. The Indians of the Taos Pueblo are mentioned briefly as they allow the Chavez family to rent their land for grazing.

The Dutch are portrayed in the 1955 winner, *The Wheel on the School*. Six Dutch children are determined to find out why storks no longer nest in their village and to bring them back to the village. As the children work to bring the storks back, they unite the people in the village.

The 1958 winner, *Rifles for Watie*, focuses on the coming of age of Jefferson Davis Bussey. Another main character is Watie, a Cherokee. Minor characters are Creeks, Seminoles, mixed-bloods, blacks, Pins (full-blood Cherokees), and Choctaws. Much of the dialogue is written using dialect.

1960–1969

The first main character of "mixed blood" (black and Hispanic) and the first Middle Eastern main character appear during the 1960s. An Indian girl also appears as a main character.

Onion John, the 1960 winner, is the story of a friendship between a 12-year-old boy whose goals conflict with his father's dreams and an immigrant, odd-job man. Onion John's country is never named, although references are made to the patron saint of his land, St. Stepan, and words such as *ovorsky* are used.

Island of the Blue Dolphin, the 1961 winner, is a coming-of-age novel about an Awawuk Indian girl named Karana who is stranded alone off the coast of California for 18 years. Although there is little interaction between characters, the rich descriptions allow readers to gain some understanding of Karana's culture through her survival tactics.

In the 1962 winner, *The Bronze Bow*, Daniel seeks to avenge the death of his parents. Daniel is from Israel and is bitter toward the Romans because they crucified his father. Eventually Daniel realizes that hatred, not the Romans, is the real enemy.

Shadow of a Bull, the 1965 winner, is the story of Manolo Olivar. Manolo carries a heavy burden: His father was the greatest bullfighter in Spain, and he is expected to follow in his father's footsteps. Manolo believes he is a coward because he doesn't want to fight the bull. Right before the bullfight, he hears the following words: "A man's life is many things. Before he becomes a man, he has many choices…to be true to his own self, or untrue to it…. Real courage, true bravery is doing things in spite of fear…. Be what you are" (p. 145).

The 1966 Newbery Medal book, *I, Juan de Pareja*, takes the form of an autobiography of Juan, the son of a black African woman and a white Spaniard. Juan's master is Velasquez, a Spanish artist. Juan says that "Spaniards are said to be excitable, impetuous people, but that is a lie" (p. 58). Velasquez's and Juan's relationship begins as master and slave, then evolves toward equality and friendship.

1970–1979

The inhumane and unjust treatment of blacks is the topic for three of the Newbery Medal winners during the 1970s. An Eskimo girl is also a main character during this decade.

Sounder, the Newbery winner in 1970, is the story of a poor black sharecropper and his family. When the father steals a ham for his family, he is sent to jail. The sheriff also wounds the family dog. The family, never named throughout the story, endures cruelty and injustice. This is a rather grim portrayal of the life of this black family in the rural U.S. south.

Julie of the Wolves, the 1973 winner, is a story of survival. Julie, whose Eskimo name is Miyax, struggles to survive on the northern slope of Alaska with help from a pack of Arctic wolves. Julie reveals great insight into her way of life through her ordeal. The minor characters, nearly all Eskimo, are portrayed through Julie's recollections. Many Eskimo words and traditions are used throughout the story.

In the 1974 Newbery Medal winner, *The Slave Dancer*, Jesse Bollier, a 13-year-old white boy, is forced to join the crew of a slave ship. His job is to play his fife to exercise or "dance" the slaves to keep their muscles strong. Jesse begins to hate the blacks, wishing they did not exist, because he is sick of the sight, smell, and sound of their suffering. Jesse recalls, "I would see once again as though they'd never ceased their dancing in my mind, black men and women and children lifting their tormented limbs in time to a reedy martial air…the sound of the fife finally drowned beneath the clanging of their chains" (p. 176).

M.C. Higgins, the Great, the 1975 winner, is the story of 2 days in the life of Mayo Cornelius Higgins, a black boy. From high atop a 40-foot pole, M.C. watches two strangers come into town: the dude whom M.C. believes will make his mother a star, and Lurhetta, a young black girl who helps M.C. realize he has to take charge of his own life. The uniqueness of the black experience is portrayed throughout the story.

The 1977 Newbery Medal book, *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry*, is the story of a black family during the 1930s. The many detailed descriptions of the prejudices and injustices aimed at blacks during the 1930s include a school book finally being issued to a "nigra" after its condition was labeled as poor, a bus driver who constantly splashes the black children's clothes with dirty water as he drives the white children to their school, nightriders and cross burnings, a black teenager who faces a lynch mob, and white store owners who are the culprits in the racial violence.

The Westing Game, the 1979 winner, is a mystery involving 16 heirs to the Sam Westing estate. These people, who appear to have nothing in common, are brought to the executor of the estate. He divides them into pairs, and gives them clues and $10,000. Among the heirs are Judge J.J. Ford, a black woman, and the Hoos, an Asian couple.

1980–1989

During the 1980s two Newbery Medal books had black characters. These characters were either minor or simply mentioned in the context of the story. Most of the winning books during this decade focused on white Anglo-Saxons.

Slavery plays a minor role in the 1980 award winner, *A Gathering of Days*. Catherine's journal (kept from 1830–1832) discusses life in New England as well as the slavery issue. Catherine receives a plea for help from a fugitive slave whom she decides to help. She tells of being reprimanded for having a copy of *The Liberator* in school. She also listens as her father and uncle clash over the issue of slavery. Catherine's father favors resettlement in Africa for the freed slaves, but Uncle Jack believes "Free men means free" (p. 45).

Dicey's Song, the 1983 winner, is about the Tillerman family. Dicey's friend is Wilhelmina, a black girl in her class at school. Dicey describes Wilhelmina: "The black girl looked about eighteen, with a full bosom and long muscular legs and round hips…. Her hair was a short afro" (p. 23). Mina says that she and Dicey are friends because they are smart. At one point in the story, one of Mina's friends reacts to Mina's friendship with Dicey: "I don't know why you're looking for honky friends" (p. 85).

1990–present

So far, during the 1990s, two of the first five winners have included characters other than white Anglo-Saxons. One book is about the Danish, the other about blacks.

The Danish people are represented in the 1990 winner, *Number the Stars*. This story, set in Copenhagen in 1943, is about a friendship between Annemarie and Ellen. Ellen and her Jewish family must escape or be "relocated" to a concentration camp. With the help of Annemarie and her family, the Rosen family escapes to Sweden. Through the development of the characters, we see why the Johansen family and others like them helped the Jewish people escape.

The 1991 Newbery Medal winner, *Maniac Magee*, is the story of Jeffrey Lionel Magee who arrives in Two Mills, a town divided into the East End (black) and the West End (white). Maniac can't understand why the East Enders called themselves black. The colors he found were "gingersnap, light fudge, dark fudge, acorn, butter rum, cinnamon, and burnt orange" (p. 51). He never found licorice which, to him, was real black. Maniac didn't figure he was white anymore than the East Enders were black. He "...came up with at least seven different shades and colors right on his own skin, not one of them being what he would call white (except for his eyeballs, which weren't any whiter than the eyeballs of the kids in East End)" (p. 58).

Discussion

The purpose of this investigation was to identify the ethnicity of the characters found in 73 Newbery Medal books (1922–1994) and to analyze the characterization of the racial or ethnic group represented. Results are summarized in the Table.

Of the Newbery Medal winners, 66 of the books (90%) have white Anglo-Saxons as main, minor, or mentioned characters. Blacks are main characters in 7% of the Newbery Medal books, minor characters in 14%, and mentioned in 5%. Black characters appear in approximately 26% (19) of the Newbery Medal books. American Indians and Alaskan Natives are main characters in 5% of the Newbery Medal winners, minor characters in 7%, and mentioned in 7%. American Indian and Alaskan Native characters appear in approximately 19% (14) of the books. Whites (Polish, Tartars, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Dutch, Moroccan, French, Scottish, Danish, and Middle Easterners) appear as main or minor characters in 12 (16%) of the Newbery Medal books and are mentioned in one. White, non–Anglo-Saxon characters appear in approximately 18% (13) of the medal-winning books. Asians and Pacific Islanders appear in 10% (7) of the Newbery Medal books, as main characters in 7% of the books, and minor characters in 3%. Hispanic characters appear in 10% (7) of the Newbery Medal books. They are main characters in 7% of the books and minor characters in 3%.

Effective multicultural education programs require "sensitivity to and knowledge of cultural diversity, meaningful curriculum activities and experiences, carefully selected instructional materials, and appropriate instructional resources (Morris, 1983, p. 77). Teachers and librarians should consider several issues before using the Newbery Medal books, or any other children's book, in a multicultural literature program.

First, and most important, before teachers and librarians use the Newbery Medal books in a multicultural literature program, they should read the books carefully to determine whether the portrayal of characters is culturally conscious, defined as "accurately reflecting a group's culture, language, history, and values" (Au, 1993, p. 176). Teachers and librarians may find that rather than portraying a character as a complex human being, some of the Newbery Medal books portray the characters in a stereotypical light.

The roles of non–Anglo-Saxon ethnic characters in the Newbery Medal books

Date	Title	Ethnic group(s)	Role of character
1923	*The Voyages of Dr. Dolittle*	Black	Minor
		American Indian/Alaskan Native	Minor
1926	*Shen of the Sea*	Asian/Pacific Islander	Main
1927	*Smoky, The Cowhorse*	Hispanic	Minor
1928	*Gay-Neck: The Story of a Pigeon*	Asian/Pacific Islander	Main
1929	*The Trumpeter of Krakow*	White-Polish	Main
		White-Tartar	Minor
1930	*Hitty: Her First Hundred Years*	Black	Minor
		American Indian/Alaskan Native	Minor
		Asian/Pacific Islander	Minor
1931	*The Cat Who Went to Heaven*	Asian/Pacific Islander	Main
1932	*Waterless Mountain*	American Indian/Alaskan Native	Main
1933	*Young Fu of the Upper Yangtze*	Asian/Pacific Islander	Main
1934	*Invincible Louisa*	Black	Mentioned
1935	*Dobry*	White-Bulgarian	Main
1936	*Caddie Woodlawn*	American Indian/Alaskan Native	Minor
1937	*Roller Skates*	White-Italian	Minor
		Black	Mentioned
1938	*The White Stag*	White-Hungarian	Main
1939	*Thimble Summer*	American Indian/Alaskan Native	Mentioned
1940	*Daniel Boone*	American Indian/Alaskan Native	Mentioned
1941	*Call It Courage*	Asian/Pacific Islander	Main
		Black	Minor
1942	*The Matchlock Gun*	American Indian/Alaskan Native	Minor
		White-Dutch	Main
		Hispanic	Minor
		Black	Mentioned
1944	*Johnny Tremain*	American Indian/Alaskan Native	Mentioned
		Black	Mentioned
1948	*The Twenty-One Balloons*	American Indian/Alaskan Native	Minor
		Black	Minor
1949	*King of the Wind: The Story of the* Godolphin Arabian	White-Moroccan	Main/Minor
		White-French	Minor
1950	*The Door in the Wall*	White-Scottish	Mentioned
1951	*Amos Fortune: Free Man*	Black	Main
1952	*Ginger Pye*	American Indian/Alaskan Native	Mentioned
1953	*Secret of the Andes*	Hispanic	Main
1954	*...And Now Miguel*	Hispanic	Main
		American Indian/Alaskan Native	Mentioned
1955	*The Wheel on the School*	White-Dutch	Main
1958	*Rifles for Watie*	American Indian/Alaskan Native	Main
		Black	Minor

(continued)

The roles of non–Anglo-Saxon ethnic characters in the Newbery Medal books (continued)

1960	*Onion John*	Not identified	Main
1961	*Island of the Blue Dolphins*	American Indian/Alaskan Native	Main
1962	*The Bronze Bow*	Middle East	Main
1965	*Shadow of a Bull*	Hispanic	Main
1966	*I, Juan de Pareja*	Hispanic/Black	Main
		Hispanic	Main
1970	*Sounder*	Black	Main
1973	*Julie of the Wolves*	Alaskan Native	Main
1974	*The Slave Dancer*	Black	Minor
1975	*M.C. Higgins, the Great*	Black	Main
1977	*Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry*	Black	Main
1979	*The Westing Game*	Black	Minor
		Asian/Pacific Islander	Minor
1980	*A Gathering of Days: A New England Girl's Journal 1830–32*	Black	Minor
1983	*Dicey's Song*	Black	Minor
1990	*Number the Stars*	White-Danish	Main
1991	*Maniac Magee*	Black	Minor

Second, educators should be aware that "Many stereotypes are concerned with race.... One way they are passed on from generation to generation is through children's books, which reflect and, at the same time, perpetuate the values of a society" (Chambers, 1983, p. 91). Educators should learn to recognize common forms of instructional and curricular racism or bias:

- stereotyping of groups;
- selective inclusion or exclusion of factual information—inclusion or exclusion of accomplishments or contributions of minorities;
- prioritizing impacts of groups—inclusion of minorities as footnotes in the mainstream of history rather than as an integral part of it;
- linguistic narrowness—usage of a language in ways that are biased toward a minority group;
- cultural imbalance—recognition by an established culture of only the accomplishments and contributions of the majority (Kierstead & Wagner, 1993, pp. 131–132).

Third, teachers should not use just one book to generalize about members of an ethnic or cultural group. "It is good to remind children that a single book cannot convey a complete picture of a country. In order to make this point clear, children might consider what books, if any, they would like to have sent to other countries as representative of their ethnic background" (Huck et al., 1987, p. 510).

Fourth, teachers and librarians should consider altering the way they have previously approached the teaching of diversity. Banks (1989) recommends that teachers employ one of four models for integrating ethnic and multicultural content into the curriculum:

- Contributions approach, focusing on the highlights, heroes, and holidays of a particular culture;

- Additive approach, focusing on content, concepts, and themes of other cultures;
- Transformation approach, focusing on examining problems, themes, concerns, and concepts from the perspective of different cultural groups; and
- Decision-making and social action approach, focusing on the identification of social problems and concerns, making decisions, and taking actions to help resolve the problems identified.

While the first two models (Contributions and Additive) suggested by Banks (1989) are better than not incorporating multiculturalism into the curriculum at all, they tend to encourage a "tourist curriculum" (Derman-Sparks, 1989, p. 7). Activities such as making a dragon to celebrate the Chinese New Year or adding *Rifles for Watie* to a unit on the Civil War are surface-level attempts at teaching cultural diversity. Rasinski and Padak (1990) suggest that these two approaches are easy to design and implement and can make substantive contributions to the multiethnic-multicultural curriculum; however, they can be perceived by some as tokenism.

The most highly recommended approaches are the transformation approach and the decision-making and social action approach. Using the transformation approach, a teacher may choose a theme such as courage and then utilize a variety of books that include different perspectives, such as *Island of the Blue Dolphins*, *Julie of the Wolves*, *Call It Courage*, *Shadow of a Bull*, and *Number the Stars*. The decision-making and social action approach is the most intensive of the four approaches. Students may be introduced to the treatment of blacks through books such as *Sounder*, *The Slave Dancer*, and *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry*. They could then conduct additional research, discuss their values and assumptions, make decisions regarding the treatment of the blacks, and act upon the issues addressed in the readings such as "What could be done to prevent racism and discrimination against other ethnic or cultural groups?" Au (1993) suggests that this approach allows students to think about social issues, enhances research skills, incorporates a variety of data sources, and challenges students to seek solutions to social problems.

Finally, all children should be taught to realize that humans are more alike than different and that cultural differences accommodate the same needs: "People throughout the world share the same biological and social needs. Values, customs, and beliefs—culture—determine how those needs are met" (Morris, 1983, p. 80). Some of the Newbery Medal books can be used in a multicultural curriculum to help children understand, accept, appreciate, and respect diverse cultures. According to Rasinski and Padak (1990), literature "tells the stories of human events and the human condition and not simply the facts. Literature does more than change minds; it changes people's hearts. And people with changed hearts are people who can move the world" (p. 580).

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Living *The Legend of the Indian Paintbrush*

Matthew J. Glover
Julie M. Pfeiffer

Teachers are always looking for creative ways to connect concepts across the curriculum. Concepts reinforced through a variety of contexts, including reading, social studies, science, math, and the visual arts, take on greater significance for the child. As Lowenfeld and Brittain (1987) state, "Fragmentation of the learning process into isolated segments creates an artificial situation. A child does not grow in single subject matter areas, nor does each area remain isolated in life outside school." By focusing on a common theme, teachers can integrate objectives from several disciplines, enhancing the child's ability to see connections across subject areas.

Children's literature provides an excellent springboard for developing cross-curricular units that bring literature to life and encourage enthusiasm for reading. As illustrated by the example in this article, cross-curricular planning can add breadth to a piece of literature and depth to the understanding of concepts.

Our first-grade curriculum prescribes the development of appreciation of cultural diversity. We created a highly successful unit around the book *The Legend of the Indian Paintbrush* by Tomie de Paola (1988), with the objective of helping students understand aspects of Native American culture. In the story, young Native American Little Gopher tries to find a way to paint the perfect sunset and perseveres through a number of disappointing attempts. We used the book to develop a series of lessons integrating reading and language arts, social studies, math, science, and art. The Table on the next page summarizes the activities, the subject areas addressed by each activity, and the required materials. Full descriptions of each activity follow.

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Math: Collecting and Grouping

This activity requires 4 sticks approximately 12 inches (30 cm.) long and ½ inch (1 cm.) in diameter and some rubber bands for each child. The purpose of the activity is to teach students to group sticks into bundles of 8 and learn to divide them into 2 equal groups. The teacher directs each student to collect 4 sticks of the appropriate size from the school grounds for a class project. The student then works with a partner to count out 8 sticks from the class pile. The partners are then asked, "Look at your pile of sticks. If you both need the same number of sticks, how many will each of you get? Check to see if you were right."

Art: Constructing a Frame

The class discusses the fact that many Native Americans used natural objects as art materials. Students then bring their 4 sticks to the art room, and using yarn and simple knots, manipulate natural objects to create a three-dimensional form. Students tie square frames together by laying 4 sticks on the floor to make a square, sliding the yarn under the 2 overlapping sticks at each corner, and wrapping it around in several directions. Less stable corners may be secured with a hot glue gun.

Writing: Creating Native American Names

After developing and discussing a list of adjectives that describe people, such as *tall*, *fast*, and *kind*, the class learns that Native American names reflect something special about the individual. Students are given the opportunity to create a Native American name for themselves. A suggested format is to use an adjective with an animal name (e.g., Swift Rabbit). For practice, the students might be told to picture an

Table Summary of activities

Activity	**Subject**	**Materials**
Collecting and grouping	math	sticks, rubber bands
Constructing a frame	art	sticks, yarn
Creating Native American names	writing	tagboard, string, crayons
Reading the story	reading, social studies	copies of *The Legend of the Indian Paintbrush*
Animals in Native American culture	social studies, math	grocery bags, scissors
Symbols for communication	reading, writing, social studies	Native American symbols, pencils, paper, crayons
Patterns in Native American art	art	examples of Native American art, crayons
Stitchery	art	hole punch, large-eye needles, yarn
Story re-creation	reading, science, art, social studies	gardening shovel, flower bulbs, paintbrushes, tempera wash

important school figure, such as the principal, and to think of words that describe this person. Then they can list several adjectives and as a class come to agreement about one word that best describes the subject. The students then choose an animal that could also be described by the adjective (e.g., Wise Owl).

Each student then thinks of an adjective that best describes himself or herself and an animal that corresponds with the image. On one side of a cardboard circle he or she draws a picture of the animal and on the other writes his or her Native American name. Students attach strings to their circles and wear them as medallions. Finally, the teacher shows the cover of *The Legend of the Indian Paintbrush* and asks students to predict the name of the main character.

Reading the Story

Paperback copies of *The Legend of the Indian Paintbrush* are provided for each child. The teacher introduces the book by discussing the difficulty students may have encountered trying to acquire a new skill, such as riding a bike or building the stick frame. The teacher reads the story to the students, asking them to think about Little Gopher's feelings as different points in the story as they listen. Discussions focus on Little Gopher's persistence and his emotions.

Social Studies: Animals in Native American Culture

The teacher leads the class in a discussion about how animals were a part of Native American life, and how animal skins were used for various purposes, including artistic expression. Students are given an opportunity to make animal skins from brown paper grocery bags. Each child first cuts down one edge of the bag and removes the bottom, leaving a large rectangle. Then the paper is cut approximately in half to eliminate the printed part of the bag. Next, the child crumples the unprinted piece into a ball, carefully opens it, and smooths it out. This process is repeated until the paper takes on a skin-like appearance.

Social Studies: Symbols for Communication

The teacher presents the class with a number of Native American symbols and discusses how Native Americans used symbols for communication. Students are invited to interpret probable meanings of the symbols provided by the teacher and to create several symbols of their own. After briefly reviewing the idea of patterns, the students are challenged to draw a pattern of symbols that communicates an idea (see Figure).

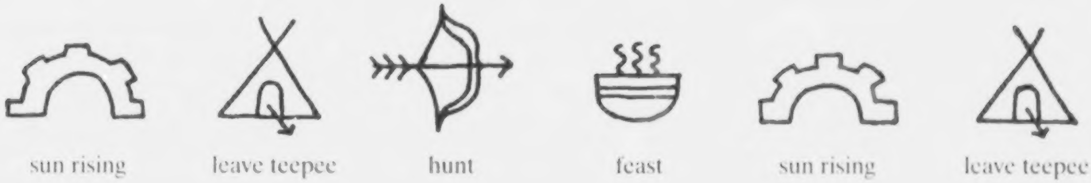
Art: Patterns in Native American Art

New ideas for visual expression may be gained by imitating characteristics of another culture's art. Classroom discussion first focuses on how Native Americans communicated ideas, feelings, and experiences to others through pictures. The teacher then presents examples of how Native Americans communicated with pictures and leads students to observe the patterns in the examples. Using crayons, students then transfer the patterns they created in the previous lesson to their animal skins. It is important that the patterns be drawn in *heavy* crayon and in bright colors for the tempera wash applied in a subsequent activity to be effective.

Art: Stitchery

The class talks about the differences between our painting and Little Gopher's

Figure Native American symbols



way of painting animal skins (e.g., we work at a table and Little Gopher stretched the skin on a frame). To make the skins look more authentic, students first tear them to fit the size of their frames. Next, leaving a 1-inch (2.5 cm.) margin, they carefully pierce the animal skin around the edges with a pencil or hole punch. With a blunt needle and yarn the teacher demonstrates a basic whip stitch to attach the skin to the frame.

Story Re-Creation

The culminating event for this unit involves problem-solving activities that simulate the plot of *The Legend of the Indian Paintbrush*. To prepare for this activity, the teacher makes flowers composed of paintbrushes and paper petals and "plants" them in the ground the morning before the activity. Like Little Gopher, the students evaluate their artwork to decide if it is complete. The teacher helps the class look for a solution by rereading the book to find Little Gopher's answer to the problem. When students rediscover that Little Gopher's answers came from nature, they take the animal skins and move outside.

The teacher encourages students to try rubbing various natural substances such as berries, grass, and mud on a sample skin to improve and brighten the colors of the Indian patterns. Again, like Little Gopher, students will confront disappointment with the results. At this point, the teacher leads students to discover the paintbrush flowers planted in the school grounds. Students are invited to use the paintbrushes to paint a brilliant tempera wash over their patterns. (Be sure to dilute the tempera wash so as not to cover the patterns.) In the holes from which the brushes were removed, students plant spring flower bulbs. The blooming of the flowers in the spring will be a reminder of the experience, just as the Indian paintbrush flower reminds the Indians of Little Gopher.

The success of any activity can be measured not only by the content learned but also by the students' involvement with that content and its impact on future learning. For our students, these experiences created increased appreciation of cultural diversity. Most rewarding, however, was the excitement and enthusiasm seen in the students living *The Legend of the Indian Paintbrush*. As one child said with amazement upon seeing the brushes planted outside, "I didn't know the story was real!"

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Enhancing Reading Instruction Through Cinderella Tales

M. Jo Worthy
Janet W. Bloodgood

While Thomas writes and illustrates a character study, Jamie and Amani compare and contrast two versions of a similar story. Danielle finds Africa on a world map and discusses with Sammy how to find out where the rain forests are located. Marcela and Leah are busy writing a Readers Theatre script of their favorite book, which they will perform for the class. Meanwhile, a group of their classmates peruses reference books and *National Geographic* magazines for pictures and information about the peoples of ancient China.

These students were fifth graders in a reading class involved in a unit on fairy tales, specifically the variants of the Cinderella story. Over the past several years, we have been using a literature unit consisting of familiar versions and variants of the Cinderella story in upper elementary classrooms and in a university-based remedial reading clinic. We have found that connecting the known stories to new, structurally similar ones is a powerful tool for reading instruction and an excellent foundation for exploring other subjects through literature.

In this chapter, we outline a literature unit consisting of variations of the Cinderella story for use in the upper elementary grades. We begin by presenting our rationale for studying fairy tales in general and Cinderella stories in particular. Next we describe the Cinderella stories and the activities developed to study and expand upon them. We then discuss the effectiveness of this unit in both clinical and classroom environments. We conclude with some final thoughts about the unit.

Why Cinderella?

Fairy tales are a natural choice of motivational reading material because of their in-

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herent meaning for children. Fairy tales present a crystal clear world that is compelling to children, appealing to their sense of absolute right and wrong (Bettelheim, 1976). Purcell-Gates (1989) reports that students at a university reading clinic consistently choose fairy tales over more contemporary literature to read again and again. Fairy tales are an inspiration for learning to read because they address questions about life and human struggle, and they speak to children in personal ways. In addition, Purcell-Gates reports that her students improved in their control of syntax and vocabulary in written language. In a classroom setting, first-grade children who heard a variety of folk and fairy tales improved their writing, making use of a rich and diverse vocabulary, which included vigorous action words and sensory language (Phillips, 1986). Our clinical and classroom experiences with fairy tales have shown similar benefits for students.

Cinderella is the best known and the most copied of the fairy tales, with as many as 700 variants; almost every culture has a version (Opie & Opie, 1974). The Cinderella stories portray a universal theme—the triumph of good over evil—in a family context. In addition, these tales offer readers access to multiple levels of interpretations, enabling students to engage with the story from their own point in time and experience. As deRegniers (1976) states in the author's note to *Little Sister and the Month Brothers*, a picture book based on a Slavic Cinderella variant,

> Over the years the story has taken on more and more meaning for me, and my perception of it changes as my perception of life changes—from sentimental to romantic to poetic to ironic to faintly comic, layer upon layer.

We chose Cinderella for a fairy tale unit because there are many exquisite picture books available that depict the Cinderella story from a variety of cultures. Versions range from Karlin's fairly simple *Cinderella* (1989), illustrated with comic flair by James Marshall, to the intricate *Moss Gown* (Hooks, 1987), romantically depicted by Donald Carrick. The many Cinderella interpretations allow considerable flexibility. We used a variety of titles and possible connections, but teachers should feel free to pick and choose elements of this unit as they fit within the personalities, curricular needs, and time frame of individual classrooms (see bibliography of children's books and stories at the end of this article).

Will the Real Cinderella Please Stand Up?

Several features are common to most Cinderella stories: (1) a beautiful heroine who has fallen from a position of high esteem, (2) an evil parent or sibling who mistreats the heroine, (3) a magical force, and (4) recognition and restoration of the heroine to an even higher position. The major difference among stories is the identity of the antagonist who causes Cinderella to lose her original status (Bettelheim, 1976). Our view of Cinderella goes well beyond the traditional American Cinderella—the gentle, forgiving girl who waits passively for her handsome prince (Yolen, 1977)—to encompass the more robust, realistic heroines known in other cultures. After several years of using picture books based on international Cinderella variants informally in a university reading clinic and in elementary classrooms, we devised a unit based on a three-category scheme that distinguishes the stories by their antagonists (see the Table for titles by category).

Category One: Heroine Mistreated by Stepmother or Stepsisters

The first category includes stories in which the heroine's mother dies and Cinderella is left in the care of a cruel stepmother or stepsisters.

Table Cinderella stories grouped by antagonists

Category one: Heroine mistreated by stepmother or stepsisters
Walt Disney's Cinderella (1974)
Cinderella, or, The Little Glass Slipper (Brown, 1954)
"The Cinder Maid" (Jacobs, 1916)
Little Sister and the Month Brothers (deRegniers, 1976)
Yeh Shen (Louie, 1982)
Nomi and the Magic Fish (Phumla, 1972)
Cinderella (Karlin, 1989)

Category two: Sibling rivalry
Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters (Steptoe, 1987)
"Makanda Mahlanu" (Sherman, 1990)
The Talking Eggs (San Souci, 1989)
Prince Cinders (Cole, 1988)
Ugh (Yorinks, 1990)

Category three: Daughter flees unnatural or misunderstanding father
"Allerleirauh" (Lang, 1892/1978)
Princess Furball (Huck, 1989)
"Cap o' Rushes" (Minard, 1975)
Moss Gown (Hooks, 1987)

American children are most familiar with *Walt Disney's Cinderella* (1974), which is patterned after the story "prettified" by the French author Perrault. *Cinderella, or The Little Glass Slipper* (Brown, 1954), translated from Perrault's original tale, contains very ornate illustrations, reminiscent of the period in which Perrault told his story. This version includes a gentle, forgiving heroine and a happy ending for all of the characters.

A translation from the Grimm Brothers' version ("The Cinder Maid," Jacobs, 1916) provides a stark contrast to Perrault's story, including many gory details reminiscent of other early European versions. In the Grimm version, one stepsister cuts off her toes to try to fit in the slipper, and the other cuts off her heel. In the end they are punished severely for their wickedness.

Little Sister and the Month Brothers (deRegniers, 1976) stems from the Slavic tradition of the Cinderella tale where a wicked stepmother and stepsister send sweet, hard-working Little Sister into the mountains in the middle of winter to find violets. She is aided by the 12 magical Month Brothers, who provide for her needs and wreak vengeance on her tormentors.

Most sources agree that the earliest recorded version of Cinderella is the story of Yeh-hsien (Waley, cited in Opie & Opie, 1974). A good example of this version is *Yeh Shen* (Louie, 1982), which is illustrated with authentic oriental flavor by Ed Young. Yeh Shen finds solace from the trials of her life with her stepmother and stepsister in her companionship with an enormous magical fish. Even after the wicked stepmother kills the fish, its bones provide Yeh Shen with beautiful clothes and the opportunity to marry the king. As in the Grimm version, the antagonists are punished—killed by a shower of flying stones—

for their wicked treatment of the heroine. A fish also serves a pivotal role in the African version entitled *Nomi and the Magic Fish* (Phumla, 1972). This story particularly intrigued our students because it was written by a 15-year-old Fingo Zulu girl.

Category Two: Sibling Rivalry

The second category of Cinderella stories includes two beautiful daughters, one humble and kind, the other jealous and cruel. A prime example is Steptoe's (1987) enchanting *Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters*, a story set in ancient Zimbabwe involving two sisters who want to marry a king. The inclusion of two daughters who are similar in beauty but different in spirit sends the refreshing message that character is more important than appearance. "Makanda Mahlanu" (Sherman, 1990) is a similar tale from the Bantu culture.

San Souci's *The Talking Eggs* (1989), an adaptation of a Creole folk tale, mixes the characters and motifs of the African versions with the language of the American south:

> Rose, the older sister, was cross and mean and didn't know beans from birds' eggs. Blanche was sweet and kind and sharp as forty crickets. But their mother liked Rose best, because they were alike as two peas in a pod—bad-tempered, sharp-tongued, and always putting on airs. (p. 1)

Category Three: Daughter Flees Unnatural or Misunderstanding Father

The third category represents quite a divergence from the first two, and the plots of these stories are more complex. An archetype is "Allerleirauh; or the Many-Furred Creature" (Lang, 1892/1978). The beautiful heroine's father presents her with an unnatural proposal: She must marry him. Horrified, she attempts to put him off by asking him for seemingly impossible gifts. When he fulfills her requests, she flees to another kingdom, her beauty and stationed disguised by her coat of a thousand furs, where she lives in poverty and is put to work in the king's kitchen. With the help of the impossible gifts, she wins the king's love. Huck's *Princess Furball* (1989), illustrated by Anita Lobel, bears a close resemblance to this story.

Another "father as antagonist" story is "Cap o' Rushes" (Minard, 1975), an English tale reminiscent of King Lear, in which the father of three girls asks them how much they love him. The youngest daughter, whose love is actually strongest, tells him that she loves him "more than meat loves salt." The father misunderstands this declaration of true love and sends her away. The rest of the story is similar to "Allerleirauh." Hooks's *Moss Gown* (1987) is a southern American version of "Cap o' Rushes."

A Cinderella Unit for the Elementary Grades

We devised the Cinderella unit for use with elementary and middle school students in a reading clinic, and we also supervised the use of the unit in several third- to fifth-grade classrooms. Typically the unit was initiated by having students tell the Cinderella story as they knew it. Their versions were invariably patterned after the Disney movie or book, and we continued by reading the storybook version that was most like their oral story, Brown's (1954) *Cinderella*. Students also read several books in the "stepmother as antagonist" category in pairs or, when necessary, listened to them on tape. They completed instructional activities in cooperative learning groups, choosing from several we had demonstrated, and then they presented their work to the class. This procedure was repeated for the other two categories.

For the sake of this discussion, we have organized the instructional activities for the unit into two sections, although there was some overlap. The first, prereading activities, prepared students for reading the story through purpose setting and instruction in word recognition, vocabulary, and background information. The second set of activities was used as either during-reading or postreading instruction or both and consisted of in-process vocabulary and story structure activities, literary evaluation, and written response. Students also were given independent time to develop their own creative responses to the stories.

Prereading Instruction

Since the stories and language of common fairy tales are familiar and predictable for most students, they found the books in the unit easier to read and comprehend than many other texts written at about the same difficulty level. Thus, it was often not necessary to address word recognition, fluency, vocabulary, or background knowledge separately. We were careful to preview every book, however, and to anticipate possible problems and provide specific instruction when it was needed. We used the students' knowledge of fairy tales to provide a provisional structure from which to predict the events of new stories. When potentially unfamiliar concepts and vocabulary were identified, we pointed them out before reading the story, drawing relationships through discussion or the use of semantic maps (Johnson & Pearson, 1984).

During-Reading and Postreading Instruction

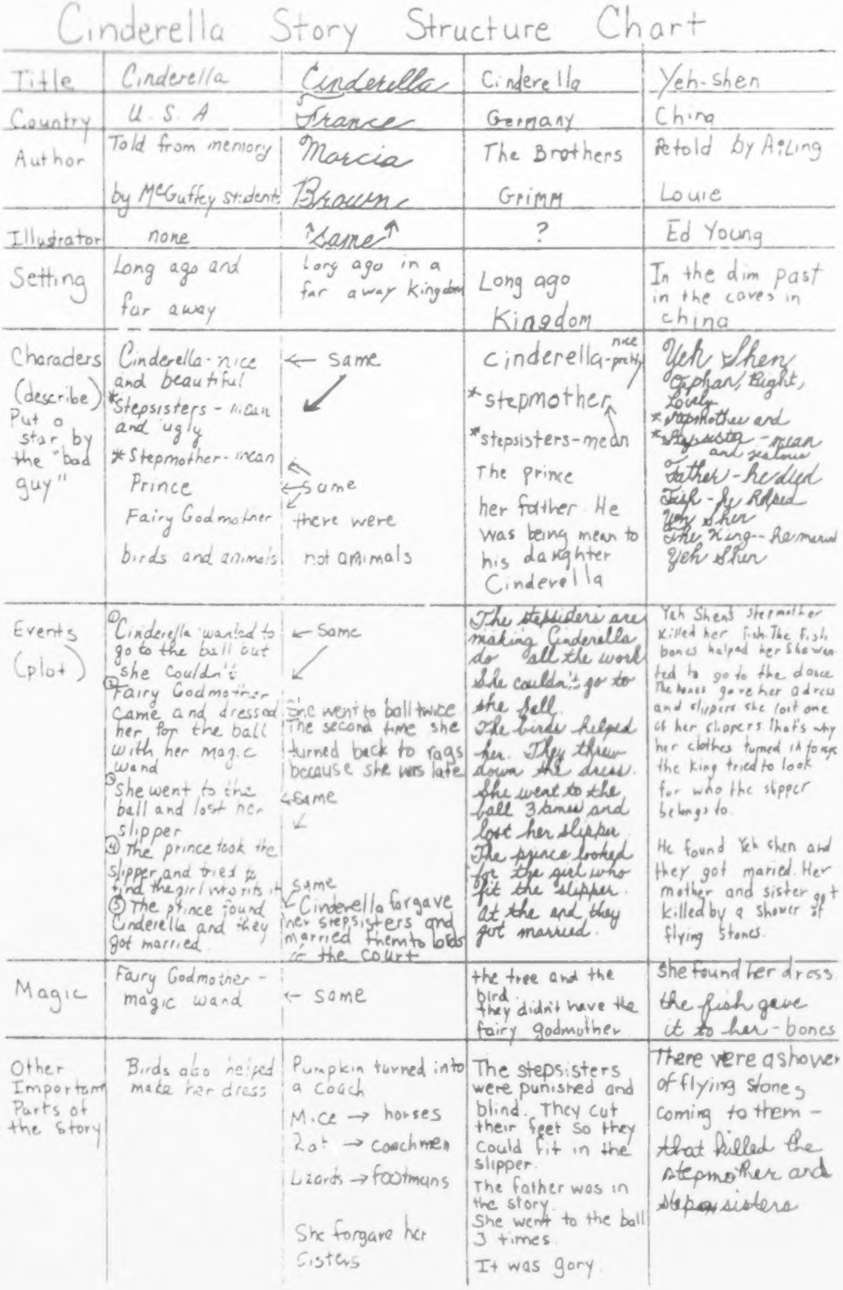
Vocabulary from context. Many opportunities to demonstrate the use of context clues in identifying vocabulary came up during the reading of the stories. For example, when reading *Nomi and the Magic Fish*, we encountered *veld*. We made hypotheses about its meaning using context clues, and we had to fight each other to get to the dictionary to verify our hypotheses.

Story structure. We used a repertoire of activities that addressed comprehension by analyzing story structure. We began by identifying the basic story elements, and then we studied details of plot and characterization. We typically demonstrated new activities or strategies in whole class minilessons and then encouraged the students to use them when appropriate.

To record and compare the elements of the stories in the unit, we used large story structure charts like the one shown in Figure 1 (adapted from Newman, 1989). This chart, used to record and compare each version as it was read, helped students to see similarities and differences at a glance. Identifying the typical story structure elements helped our students to monitor their comprehension. For example, after reading several stories, one of the students pointed out that something magical had occurred in all of the versions she had read. Thus, we added a "magic" category to our chart, and she reviewed the stories she had already read, charting the particular sources of magic. We continued to add categories as students noticed other commonalities among the stories.

We used other graphic organizers such as the Venn diagram to compare and contrast story elements (see Bromley, 1991, for others). Tanya, a fourth-grade clinic student whose comprehension was assessed at a first-grade level, compared the similar African tales *Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters* (Steptoe, 1987) and "Makanda Mahlanu" (Sherman, 1990) (see Figure 2). In her contrast, she attended to all of the features of story structure, noting names of characters and disparity in plot elements. The similarities she noticed included the common setting and character traits of the sisters, as well as less obvious features such as common magical elements and the daughters' dresses as they were shown in the illustrations. The activity addressed Tanya's

Figure 1 Story structure chart for comparing different versions



Cinderella Story Structure Chart

Title	Cinderella	Cinderella	Cinderella	Yeh-shen
Country	U. S. A	France	Germany	China
Author	Told from memory by McGuffey students	Marcia Brown	The Brothers Grimm	Retold by Ai-Ling Louie
Illustrator	none	same	?	Ed Young
Setting	Long ago and far away	Long ago in a far away kingdom	Long ago Kingdom	In the dim past in the caves in china
Characters (describe) Put a star by the "bad guy"	Cinderella - nice and beautiful *Stepsisters - mean and ugly *Stepmother - mean Prince Fairy Godmother birds and animals	← same ↙ ← same there were not animals	cinderella - nice pretty *stepmother *stepsisters - mean The prince her father He was being mean to his daughter Cinderella	Yeh Shen Orphan, Bright, Lovely *stepmother and *stepsisters - mean and jealous Father - he died Fish - he helped Yeh Shen The King -- Remarried Yeh Shen
Events (plot)	① Cinderella wanted to go to the ball out she couldn't ② Fairy Godmother came and dressed her for the ball with her magic wand ③ She went to the ball and lost her slipper ④ The prince took the slipper and tried to find the girl who fits it ⑤ The prince found Cinderella and they got married	← same ↙ She went to ball twice The second time she turned back to rags because she was late ← same ↙ same ↙ Cinderella forgave her stepsisters and married them to lords of the court	The stepsisters are making Cinderella do all the work She couldn't go to the ball. The birds helped her. They threw down the dress. She went to the ball 3 times and lost her slipper. The prince looked for the girl who fit the slipper. At the end they got married.	Yeh Shens stepmother killed her fish. The fish bones helped her She wanted to go to the dance The bones gave her a dress and slippers she lost one of her slippers that's why her clothes turned in to rags the king tried to look for who the slipper belongs to. He found Yeh shen and they got maried. Her mother and sister got killed by a shower of flying stones.
Magic	Fairy Godmother - magic wand	← same	the tree and the bird they didn't have the fairy godmother	She found her dress the fish gave it to her - bones
Other Important Parts of the Story	Birds also helped make her dress	Pumpkin turned into a coach Mice → horses Rat → coachmen Lizards → footmans She forgave her sisters	The stepsisters were punished and blind. They cut their feet so they could fit in the slipper. The father was in the story. She went to the ball 3 times. It was gory.	There were a shower of flying stones coming to them - that killed the stepmother and stepsisters

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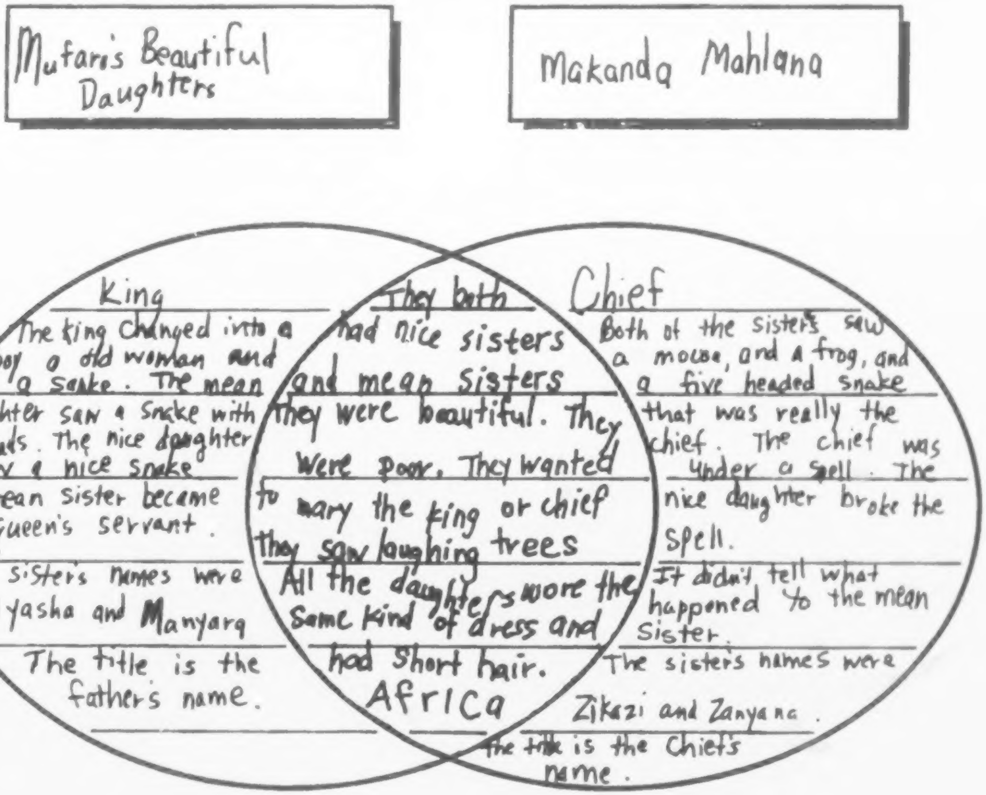
Figure 2 Venn diagram for comparison and contrast of *Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters* and "Makanda Mahlanu"



The king changed into a boy a old woman and a snake. The mean daughter saw a snake with 5 heads. The nice daughter saw a nice snake

the mean sister became the queen's servant.

The sister's names were Nyasha and Manyara

The title is the father's name.

had nice sisters and mean sisters They were beautiful. They were poor. They wanted to mary the king or chief

They saw laughing trees

All the daughters wore the same kind of dress and had short hair.

Africa

Both of the sisters saw a mouse, and a frog, and a five headed snake that was really the chief. The chief was under a spell. The nice daughter broke the spell.

It didn't tell what happoned to the mean sister.

The sisters names were Zikazi and Zanyana.

The title is the Chief's name.

weakness in comprehension by helping her grasp the subtle differences between the stories.

We used various graphic organizers to map major plot events. Representing story events either through illustrations or written summaries made the idea of plot more concrete for our students and strengthened their comprehension. For example, Denise's sequence chart for *Moss Gown* (see Figure 3) clearly indicates comprehension of the story through her ability to pick out the major story events.

In many fairy tales, the characters are presented as either good or evil, pretty or ugly, hardworking or lazy. As we learned through our study of characterization, however, the Cinderella heroines are often complex, their traits running the gamut from generous and kind to clever and resourceful to even vengeful. In minilessons we discussed how the author developed the Cinderella characters, either directly or implicitly through their actions, and we used a variety of character webs (Bromley, 1991;

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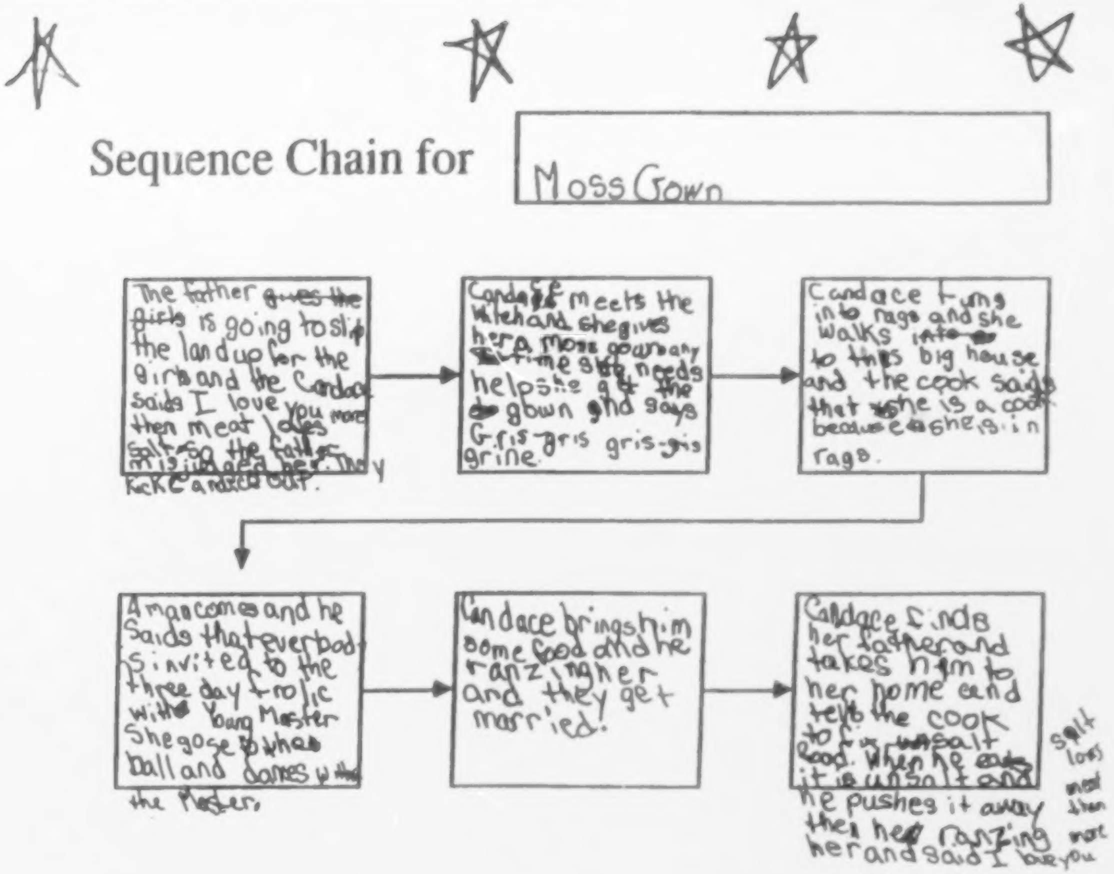
Figure 3 Story sequence chart



Sequence Chain for Moss Gown

The father ~~gives the girls~~ is going to slip the land up for the girls and the Candace saids I love you more then meat loves salt so the father misjudged her. They kick Candace out.

Candace meets the witch and she gives her a Moss gown any time she needs help she get the gown and says Gris-gris gris-gris grine.

Candace turns into rags and she walks ~~into~~ to this big house and the cook saids that she is a cook because she is in rags.

A man comes and he saids that everbody is invited to the three day frolic with Young Master. She gose to the ball and dances with the Master.

Candace brings him some food and he ranzing her and they get married!

Candace finds her father and takes him to her home and tells the cook to fix unsalt food. When he eats it is unsalt and he pushes it away then he ranzing her and said I love you

salt
loves
meat
than
more

Cullinan, 1987). *Moss Gown* (Hooks, 1987) is a good book for in-depth character analysis because the language is very descriptive. A character flow chart (McTighe & Lyman, 1988), which graphically illustrates how characters' qualities can be inferred from their actions, worked well for Hooks's story. Two students focused their attention on Candace, the compassionate heroine of the story, while another pair of students studied the *gris gris* woman, "a slender green-eyed witch woman, black and sleek as a velvet cat" (Hooks, 1987, p. 16).

After reading several books, we examined the roles and traits of other Cinderella story characters and how they differed among versions. One such character study was spurred by a student's observation of the father in the Grimm Brothers' version. In most "stepmother as antagonist" stories, the heroine's father dies soon after marrying the stepmother, but the Grimms' father is still alive. An entry in the student's journal showed his concern over the father's ineffectual behavior: "Why does he let [the stepmother and stepsisters] be so mean to her?" In his study, he found

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some fathers who were better (e.g., *Mufaro*) and some who were even worse (the incestuous father in "Allerleirauh," Lang, 1892/1978).

Literacy evaluation. After identifying and analyzing the story structure, plot details, and characterization of several stories, our students became adept at observing and discussing similarities and differences and were ready to begin examining books critically. We introduced several aspects of literary evaluation in minilessons, asking them to consider questions such as: Does the book tell a good story? How does the author portray the characters? What role does setting play in the story? How does the theme emerge from the story? Does the author use dialogue effectively? Do the illustrations add to the telling of the tale, and are they authentic to the country of origin? (Huck, Hepler, & Hickman, 1987, pp. 28–29). We also identified in the stories distinctive stylistic features of fairy tales, including common language ("once upon a time," "happily ever after"), themes (goodness is rewarded, wickedness is punished), and motifs (impossible gifts, supernatural elements, disguises, events happening in threes).

Since most of the books in the unit were picture books, we examined illustrations in detail. Illustrations can add much to a text by giving additional information and deeper insight into the story through the illustrator's interpretations. Children are much more likely than adults to inspect illustrations and to find meaning and connection to the text in them (Mikkelsen & Mikkelsen, 1987). Tanya's attention to the girls' garments in her Venn diagram (see Figure 2) is an apt example. Also, as the story structure chart grew (see Figure 1), students added their interpretive comments based on their evaluations of illustrations in the books.

Another aspect of literary criticism that evolved spontaneously was illustrator and author studies. Ed Young's splendid illustrations for *Yeh Shen* (Louis, 1982) led several fourth graders to study his illustrations of other Chinese folk tales (e.g., *8,000 Stones*, Wolkstein, 1972; *The Emperor and the Kite*, Yolen, 1967) and folk tales from other cultures (e.g., *Foolish Rabbit's Big Mistake*, Martin, 1985; *Bo Rabbit Smart for True*, Jacquith, 1981). Young (1989) also wrote and illustrated *Lon Po Po*, a Caldecott Award-winning book based on the Chinese version of Red Riding Hood. The students' report to the class included an examination of the common themes, motifs, and illustrations in Chinese folk tales.

Written response. Writing was an integral part of the unit. Students kept response journals to record their thoughts about stories before, during, and after reading them. At first their responses consisted of plot summaries, predictions of story events, and answers to teacher-posed questions about their reactions to the stories. Gradually they began to comment on some of the content of the minilessons on plot development, character analysis, and evaluation, and they added their personal feelings and thoughts. Although many of the initial writing activities were fairly structured, students assumed greater responsibility and control of the tasks as the unit progressed.

Students engaged in other written responses. For example, to help students synthesize what they had learned about the characters in Cinderella stories, we modeled cinquain, a form of five-line poetry, and students wrote about individual characters or character types. Falisha's cinquain about stepmothers is shown here, along with a description of the form:

Stepmother	One word title
Ugly, mean	Two word description
Bossing, ordering, teasing	Three action *-ing* words
Jealous of all beauty	Four words describing a feeling
Cruel	One word synonym or description

Other writing involved transforming existing stories or writing new ones based on features of fairy tales. We found that using the support of an existing work gives students a comfortable structure from which to write (Otten & Stelmach, 1988). Thus, we modeled the writing of Readers' Theatre scripts, keeping the story structure constant while changing the format and some of the language. Students worked in groups to write their own scripts to perform for the class. We moved beyond these simple adaptations to transformations, following Otten and Stelmach's suggestions. Simple transformations, changing or extending one or more story elements, were easy for our students because they had become so familiar with the elements. Some students added new characters or developed minor ones, rewrote the stories from a different point of view, changed the gender of one or more characters, wrote "where are they now" versions, or changed the endings. Others changed the setting, narrator, or style or rewrote the story as a joke, poem, novel, or song. A fifth grader, shocked that many of the versions ended with violent deaths of the stepsisters, rewrote the ending of *Yeh Shen* in the style of Perrault, with the heroine forgiving her sisters and marrying them to her husband's brothers. Tara, a sixth grader with a history of resistance to writing, wrote a more complex transformation. Taking a different point of view, she portrayed an evil "Cindy" from the stepmother's perspective. "Part One" of her story is a narrative that sets the scene and the relationships among characters:

> Cindy, or Cinderella, as she liked to be called was evil and tried to make life for my family miserable...Sure, her father punished her, but only by making her do odd chores around the house.

"Part Two," written in verse, relates the events of the ball, how Cindy gets married, and the resolution of the story:

> After the two married
> One thing all of us knew;
> Without that evil Cindy
> Happy endings do come true!

Humerous Cinderella stories. After weeks of study, our students had become experts at recognizing the distinctive features of Cinderella stories and characters. We then shared two humorous picture books. *Ugh*, by the author/illustrator team of Yorinks and Egielski (1990), is set in prehistoric time with a cave boy as the Cinderella figure. In *Prince Cinders*, written and illustrated by Cole (1988), a skinny, weakling prince marries a princess whom he meets on the way to the disco.

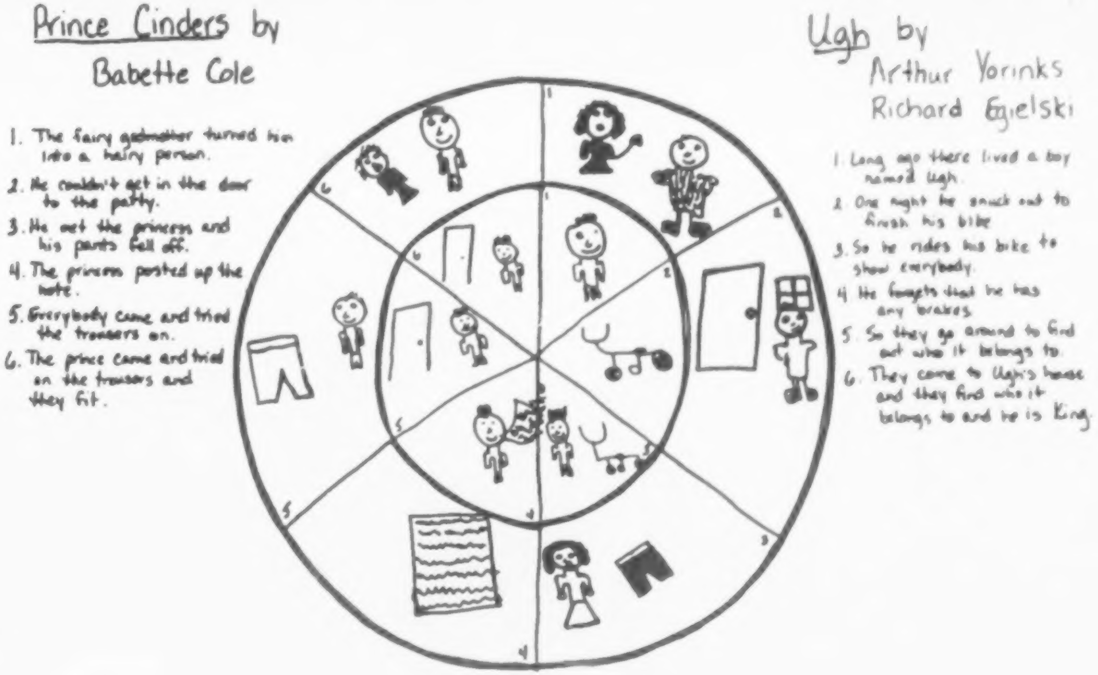
Students worked in small groups to compose their own creative responses to the humorous versions. Michael and J.P. devised a circle graphic with illustrations to compare parallel plot features of *Ugh* and *Prince Cinders* (see Figure 4). Other students were inspired by these versions to write and illustrate their own stories. Tanya used pictures of rock stars from a teen magazine to illustrate her story about a family of four girls, all Cinderella figures, whose mean brother overworks them and forbids them to go to the dance at the local junior high school. Terrence told the story of "Prince Dude," a very colorful character:

> There's a dance on Friday—Prince Dude needs to find himself a wife. He tells every maiden in the kingdom to dress up as a punk rocker. Prince Dude comes to the dance in a black robe with spikes that are colored purple with rubies on them...the Prince's crown sits on the tiny little spikes on his head; his purple mohawk is in a ponytail that comes up through the crown.

Across the Curriculum

The Cinderella unit led to side studies in other disciplines. One activity provided a foundation for studying other countries and cultures. After locating each story's country of origin on a large world map, the students used a piece of colored yarn to connect the country with a card containing bibliographic data. With the setting descriptions from the stories as a foundation, we

Figure 4 Circle graphic designed by students to compare the plots of *Ugh* and *Prince Cinders*



Prince Cinders by
Babette Cole

1. The fairy godmother turned him into a hairy person.
2. He couldn't get in the door to the patty.
3. He met the princess and his pants fell off.
4. The princess posted up the note.
5. Everybody came and tried the trousers on.
6. The prince came and tried on the trousers and they fit.

Ugh by
Arthur Yorinks
Richard Egielski

1. Long ago there lived a boy named Ugh.
2. One night he snuck out to finish his bike
3. So he rides his bike to show everybody.
4. He forgets that he has any brakes
5. So they go around to find out who it belongs to.
6. They come to Ugh's house and they find who it belongs to and he is King.

explored the regions of which the stories were typical (What events took place when this story was written?) and anthropology (What does this story say about the people who lived during that time?). These whole-group explorations led to more in-depth related studies.

From reading several African versions of Cinderella and from brief trips to the encyclopedia, we were able to get a sense of the diversity of the African continent, its languages, peoples, and topography, from the lush vegetation in the rain forest of ancient Zimbabwe in *Mufaro* to the open plains of South Africa in *Nomi*. Many students were interested in studying these and other aspects of Africa. Other topics they explored included history, religions, arts and music, and literature. Individuals and cooperative learning groups read and studied in their areas of interest and shared their findings with the class. Noting that the brides in *Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters* (Steptoe, 1987) and “Makanda Mahlanu” (Sherman, 1990) prepared wedding cakes from millet, one fifth-grade group read an article about millet (Nasseri, 1990) and researched other African foods.

Another side study focused on the role of magic in southern African American culture. Several fifth-grade students explored the role of *gris gris* (conjure women), other spiritual forces, and their integral role in stories such as San Souci's *The Boy and the Ghost* (1989) and Hooks's *Moss Gown* (1987) and *The Ballad of Belle Dorcas* (1990). Comparing the magic elements in the African tales with these forces of

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potential good and evil as seen in the southern stories allowed the students to make connections between cultures.

Program Effectiveness

Many benefits of the Cinderella course of study were apparent in students' reading and writing as seen in both our observations and informal assessments. The student responses throughout this article are examples of the growth that we saw in comprehension, critical analysis and evaluation, and writing. They became increasingly independent and enthusiastic in responding to the stories in personal, unique ways. Tara's use of both prose and poetry in telling her story from a different point of view, Terrence's vivid description of Prince Dude, and Michael and J.P.'s graphic plot comparison are just a few examples of the ways that students demonstrated growth in literacy. Students' independence and creativity were also seen in the many side studies that developed in response to the stories.

Another exciting outcome, particularly for the clinic students, was reflected in their attitude toward reading. Students who earlier in the year would have done anything to avoid books began to read Cinderella and other fairy tales that they had discovered in the library, and they clamored to share their insights with the group. This enthusiasm carried over into their school classrooms; several of the classroom teachers of our clinic students asked us if they could use the unit after witnessing the reactions of these previously reluctant readers. One such teacher confided, "I was shocked to see him [the clinic student] actually reading a book in his free time."

Another teacher who used the unit commented that exploring variations of a story across cultures "was a tremendous help with comprehension," and she used the strategy with other themes. This same teacher, who had previously been reluctant to try cooperative learning groups, became convinced of their effectiveness after seeing one of her "lowest readers" leading a discussion during the Cinderella unit.

All of the clinic students made qualitative and quantitative gains in comprehension during the semester in which the Cinderella unit was used. For example, Denise entered the clinic as a fourth grader with weak comprehension of grade level material (60% of the comprehension questions correct on the fourth-grade level passage on an informal reading inventory), tending to focus on literal, surface content. Denise made marked gains in comprehension during the 10-week session in which the Cinderella unit was the major vehicle of instruction. She demonstrated increasingly effective strategies for dealing with narrative text, and her growth in vocabulary and use of background knowledge were evident in qualitative analyses of her instructional sessions. This progress was also reflected in her increasingly positive attitude toward reading and in carry-over to other reading. A unit on prairie settlers followed the Cinderella exploration, and Denise read and understood books that would have previously been difficult for her to read independently (e.g., *Little House on the Prairie*, Wilder, 1935; *The Josefina Story Quilt*, Coerr, 1986). Further, when Denise's reading was evaluated at the end of the session, she demonstrated increased comprehension (80% of the comprehension questions correct on the fifth-grade IRI passage).

Conclusion

The immediacy and universal appeal of fairy tales and the Cinderella theme proved a natural way to involve students in the language arts as well as in broader areas of the curriculum. Our experiences convinced us that providing students with thoughtfully chosen literature and a variety of response alternatives can play a valuable role in a language arts program that is dedicated to making reading and writing meaningful, exciting, and relevant to students.

Author Notes

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From Anansi to Zomo: Trickster Tales in the Classroom

Terrell A. Young
Phyllis M. Ferguson

"Born and bred in the briar patch!" taunted Dong as he slid down the slide and ran off through the other children. "Run, run as fast as you can! You can't catch me, I'm the gingerbread man!" came wafting over the students' heads as Sue narrowly escaped in a game of tag. Other children were jumping rope as they chanted, "Ten fat tigers, ten fat tigers, Cabree eats tigers raw. Yesterday Cabree ate ten tigers. Today Cabree eats ten more. Nine fat tigers...." Some may be surprised to hear literary language on the playground, but this is not unusual when students have been immersed in lively trickster tales.

Nearly every culture has trickster tales in which a character uses wit, pranks, lies, deceit, and mischief to triumph over more powerful creatures. However tricksters do not always prevail, for they are often victims of another's trickery. Douglas Hill (1982) provides insight into the trickster:

> [The trickster] can be noble, majestic, wise and godlike. He can be powerful, brave, knowledgeable and heroic. But at the same time—often during the same story—he can be foolish and stupid, selfish and vain, deceitful and even cruel. And that is the most basic and important truth that lies within all the different Trickster tales. (p. 11)

Trickster tales were passed from generation to generation through the oral tradition. Now many of these ancient tales have been adapted and retold in print so they can be enjoyed by both children and adults. This article will provide a rationale for using trickster tales in the classroom, introductions to representative trickster tales from many cultures, and sample activities that teachers can use to introduce trickster tales to their students.

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Rationale

Children enjoy reading and hearing trickster tales—they're fun! Julius Lester (1988) explains why trickster tales are enjoyed by young and old alike. "Through the tales we live with, laugh with, and love, [we see] something of ourselves which is beyond our powers to redeem" (p. xii). Yet trickster tales have more to offer than just entertainment—much more.

Trickster tales are a means of introducing students to many cultures. Reading folklore helps students understand the personal dimension and the standards of behavior of a culture, and at the same time, reduces stereotypes (Bosma, 1992). Trickster tales, like other folklore, contain references to a society's values: what the people value; what they laugh at; what they scorn, fear, or desire; and how they see themselves.

Trickster tales differ in length and complexity. For instance, young children can read Patricia McKissack's *Monkey-Monkey's Trick* or Gerald McDermott's *Zomo the Rabbit*. Students in the middle and upper grades can read Sherlock's *Anansi the Spider Man*, Sanfield's *The Adventures of High John the Conqueror*, or Brusca and Wilson's *The Blacksmith and the Devils*. Such a range in reading levels makes trickster tales ideal for almost any age group.

Trickster tales can also make a powerful addition to thematic units. For example, they can easily fit into a conflict theme. Analysis of a variety of tales from around the world illustrates this mode of conflict resolution and the characters involved. Survival themes can include trickster tales, as many tricksters survive by their wit and cunning. As tricksters are viewed from a survival tale viewpoint, commonalties and differences rise to the forefront. This focused interaction with trickster tales provides a present day application of these age-old stories, their characters, and solutions to survival. Trickster tales thus provide thematic development that takes them beyond literature into meaningful, purposeful, lifelong learning.

Trickster tales by themselves provide an exciting genre with lots of variety and adventure. The multiethnic diversity of tricksters, and the humor and the lively character interactions create a genre unit that receives rave reviews. Students are encouraged to analyze the structure and characteristics of trickster tales and to interact with the various characters from throughout the world who function as tricksters. Student-produced trickster tales are a natural byproduct of this in-depth study.

Teachers may also want to use trickster tales to introduce problem-solving techniques to students, since tricksters rely on some action to resolve a problem. "However, this is not a simple solving of a problem. The climax of a trickster tale is an unusual solution requiring admirable mental prowess" (Bosma, 1992, p. 10). A further reason for using these tales is that tricksters are often small and weak, yet prevail over the strong and powerful. So many children have been saturated in the violence of television, movies, music, and gangs that aggression seems to be a natural part of life. Fortunately, the trickster often (but not always) provides an alternative to violence. Usually the trickster uses wit to overcome and prevent danger. Many children identify with the underdog and thus relate to tricksters.

Trickster Tales Across Cultures

We offer a few titles representative of African, African American, Asian and Asian American, Caribbean, European and Euro-American, Jewish, Latino, Middle Eastern, Native American, and Pacific Island trickster tales. This offering is by no means comprehensive. Teachers can find additional trickster tales embedded in general folk tale collections. *The Index to Fairy Tales* (Ireland, 1973, 1989; Sprug, 1993) is a good reference listing many trickster tales found in collections.

African

Of all the tricksters, perhaps Anansi is the best known. Anansi stories originated in West Africa and have spread throughout the Caribbean and into Central America. In some of the stories, Anansi is a spider. In others, he is a human. Anansi appears as a spider in Gerald McDermott's *Anansi the Spider*, a tale about how Anansi's six sons save him from impending doom. Eric Kimmel has retold three Anansi tales: *Anansi and the Moss Covered Rock*, *Anansi Goes Fishing*, and *Anansi and the Talking Melon*. These books are examples of how Anansi sets out to trick others, but is the victim of trickery in the end.

Ananse (a variant spelling of Anansi) is a human in Verna Aardema's *Oh, Kojo! How Could You!* Ananse tricks young Kojo into buying a cat, a dog, and a dove. When the dove brings Kojo a magic ring, Ananse sends his niece to steal it. Kojo sends the dog and cat to retrieve the ring. The cat is successful and to this day, cats are honored in Ashantiland. Aardema's *Anansi Finds a Fool* is a version of *Anansi Goes Fishing*. Gail Haley's *A Story, A Story*, winner of the 1971 Caldecott Medal, involves Anansi tricking the Sky God to obtain his stories.

Many Anansi tales appear in collections. For instance, two are retold in *Tales From Around the World*. David Kheridan's *Feathers and Tails* contains "Anansi Rides Tiger," a delightful tale in which Anansi uses Tiger's pride to trick him. Virginia Hamilton retells "Spider Ananse Finds Something" in her Newbery Honor book *In the Beginning*. Joyce Cooper Arkhurst's *The Adventures of Spider* contains many wonderful Anansi tales. Many of these same tales are retold in picture books by other authors.

Anansi, however, is not the only African trickster. Rabbits were also popular African tricksters. In Verna Aardema's *Rabbit Makes a Monkey of Lion*, Rabbit and her friends are always able to eat Lion's honey and to escape from him. In frustration, Lion often replies, "That little rascal made a monkey of me!" Another rabbit is Zomo from West Africa, who visits the Sky God seeking wisdom in Gerald McDermott's *Zomo the Rabbit*. He is told he can have wisdom only if he can perform three impossible tasks. Zomo uses trickery to get the impossible scales from Big Fish, milk from Wild Cow, and a tooth from Leopard. Zomo is thus rewarded with wisdom.

African American

Brer Rabbit brings joy and laughter to children as they read about his antics as he tries to outwit the other animals in and around the briar patch. Joel Chandler Harris, a Georgia journalist, collected the Brer Rabbit tales from southern African Americans in the late 1800s and promoted them when he created Uncle Remus, a plantation slave, as a medium for retelling the African American slave folk tales (Parks, 1987). Many authors and illustrators have combined their efforts to adapt Brer Rabbit tales for picture books and collections. For example, Van Dyke Parks produced *Jump! The Adventures of Brer Rabbit*; *Jump on Over! The Adventures of Brer Rabbit and His Family*, and *Jump Again! More Adventures of Brer Rabbit*.

Julius Lester adapted three collections of Brer Rabbit stories, all illustrated by Jerry Pinkney: *The Tales of Uncle Remus: The Adventures of Brer Rabbit*; *More Tales of Uncle Remus: Further Adventures of Brer Rabbit, His Friends, Enemies, and Others*; and *Further Tales of Uncle Remus: The Misadventures of Brer Rabbit, Brer Wolf, the Doodang, and Other Creatures*. Priscilla Jaquith introduces folk tales from the Gullah in *Bo Rabbit Smart for True*.

These books introduce children to many animals who are tricked by Brer Rabbit and some who are successful in tricking him. Brer Rabbit has a female counterpart in Molly Cottontail. Children can read about Molly in Robert D. San Souci's *Cut From the Same Cloth*.

Asian and Asian American

Just as many African tales found their way to America, many Asian tales have also traveled to America. Tricksters have a prominent role in Asian folklore. The badger, one of the tricksters from Japan, can change to human form as illustrated in Tony Johnston's *The Badger and the Magic Fan* where the badger changes himself to a young girl to trick three Tengu children out of a magic fan that can make noses longer by fanning in one direction and shorter by fanning in the opposite direction. Badger uses the stolen fan to make a beautiful girl's nose very long. Her father calls upon all the doctors in Japan, some wise men, and a witch, but none of them can help his daughter. Finally, in desperation, he offers half his fortune and his daughter's hand in marriage as a reward to whomever can help her. The badger uses the fan to collect the reward, but all is not well. The Tengu children find the badger and use the fan on him until he is literally pulled out of this world.

Diane Snyder retells a Japanese trickster tale, *The Boy of the Three Year Nap*, about how a mother uses trickery to get her lazy son to work and how the son, in turn, uses trickery to get a rich merchant's daughter for a wife. Yoshiko Uchida's *The Magic Listening Cap* contains the trickster tale "The Fox and the Bear." Fox tricks the bear out of two crops, honey, and lots of work. The fox gets exactly what he deserves when the bear tells him how to catch a horse.

Lawrence Yep has retold three trickster tales in his collection of Chinese folk tales *The Rainbow People*. These tales from Southern China were collected in the 1930s from Chinese people living in California. In Yep's retelling of "Bedtime Snacks," Shakey outwits Dagger Claws, a monster who had already eaten his Auntie and little brother, in order to save his life. In a second trickster tale, a cat and dog retrieve their master's magic wand from a thief, but the cat then deceives his master and the dog. This tale explains why cats and dogs are "Natural Enemies." The third tale, "The Professor of Smells," is about a gambler who uses trickery to gain both wealth and fame. In Yep's picture book *The Man Who Tricked a Ghost*, a man named Sung cleverly outwits a ghost who is determined to teach him a lesson.

Oki S. Han and Stephanie Plunkett combined their efforts in retelling a wonderful Korean tale, *Sir Whong and the Golden Pig*. Mr. Oh, a stranger, visits Sir Whong to borrow money (supposedly to buy medicine for his sick mother). Mr. Oh leaves a golden pig as security. Later, Sir Whong learns that he has been tricked and that the gold pig is less than a treasure. Yet, in the end, it is Sir Whong who tricks Mr. Oh.

Additional tales are found in I.G. Edmonds's *Trickster Tales*. From Japan comes "Ikkyu and the Merchant's Moneybags," a story about a kindly old priest who outwits a greedy merchant. In "Ooka and the Telltale Tale," a judge uses trickery to establish guilt necessary to put criminals in jail. "The Way of the Master" tells of Okubo's trickery at a banquet held to teach a young instructor a lesson. Edmonds retells a Korean tale about how a wise judge matches the cunning of tricky Wol Mai to send her to prison in "The Onion and the Rose." From Pakistan, children learn how the people of Karachi become happy, how the poor become rich, and how the weaver Devadatta outsmarts the thieves to save his life in "The Weaver's Worry." "The Seed of Happiness," from Cambodia, is about a priest who helps a woman see that her troubles are not so bad after all.

Caribbean

As in Africa, Anancy is a popular trickster in the Caribbean. Since most of the slaves brought from Africa to the Caribbean were from the Gold Coast of West Africa, tales of the part-human, part-spider Anansi were bound to survive (Poliner, 1984). Anansi was also very adaptable to the climate, customs, and geography of the Caribbean. Variations in spelling occurred as Anansi tales spread to the new world: Anancy, Ananse, and Annancy. The tales adopted the creatures, culture, and folklore of the new area. Brian Gleeson's picture book *Anansi* is an example of this adaptation.

Two anthologies of Anancy tales were compiled in Jamaica. Philip Sherlock retold his childhood stories in *Anansi the Spider Man*. James Berry presents a collection of short Anancy stories in *Spiderman Anancy*. Both of these books contain stories found in African collections as well as some new tales unique to the Caribbean.

Many picture book versions of Anancy tales are based on Caribbean tales. Fiona French successfully combined two popular characters from island folklore in her beautifully illustrated book *Anancy and Mr. Dry-Bone*. *The Dancing Granny*, a colorful tale retold by Ashley Bryan, involves Ananse tricking Granny into dancing three times so he can steal her vegetables. Granny gets even by taking Ananse as her dancing partner. In *The Banza* by Diane Wolkstein, a funny folk tale from Haiti, a goat tricks 10 hungry tigers by singing a song about eating "ten fat tigers."

European and European American

European trickster tales are as diverse as the European people themselves. Molly Whuppie, for example, is a poor woodcutter's daughter who repeatedly outwits a giant and wins royal husbands for herself and her sisters in Walter de la Mare's *Molly Whuppie*. Reynard, a cruel fox, is another popular trickster from England. Reynard tales are found in Selina Hastings's *Reynard the Fox*. Paul Galdone's *What's in Fox's Sack?* is another fox tale from England. Scotland presents Heather Forest's retelling of *The Woman Who Flummoxed the Fairies*, in which a clever baker woman outwits the fairies who want to keep her captive as their baker.

Tyl Uilenspiegel, one of the Dutch tricksters, is featured in *The Wicked Tricks of Tyl Uilenspiegel* by Jay Williams. Irish tricksters ranging from wee leprechauns and fairies to giants are found in Edna O'Brien's *Tales for the Telling*. Tomie de Paola's retelling of *Fin M'Coul* details how Fin's clever wife disguises her husband as a baby to trick his archenemy, the dreaded giant Cucullin.

Tricksters came from other parts of Europe as well. For example, Paula Fox retells the delightful Italian tale of *Amzat and His Brothers*. Amzat and his wife Allegra live at the top of a steep hill. His older brothers live with their wives in the shadowy valley below. Amzat cleverly uses a series of tricks to prevent his brothers from cheating him out of his sunny, hilltop home. The fox is a Russian trickster who cleverly outwits his enemies. Nine fox stories appear in Mirra Ginsburg's *One Trick Too Many*. Clever Petit Jean outwits a dishonest king in Eric Kimmel's retelling of *Three Sacks of Truth*.

Many European tales have influenced the tales told in America. For instance, Richard Chase's *The Jack Tales*, 18 Appalachian folk tales, which evolved through years and years of retellings, likely came from England. Gail Haley's ability as a storyteller is showcased in *Mountain Jack Tales*. Other European American tales originated in North America. In Carole Spray's retelling of *The Mare's Egg*, some genteel settlers, ill-prepared for life in the new world, are tricked by their working-class neighbors. One such settler realizes his need for a horse to help him clear his land, and buys a mare's egg (a large pumpkin) from a trickster neighbor for 10 dollars. The settler spends weeks and weeks trying to hatch the egg.

Jewish

Jewish trickster tales also exist. Hershel of Ostropol is a clever but poor man who lives by his wits. Hershel outwits Reb Shimon in "When Hershel Eats," found in a collection of

Hanukkah stories, *The Spotted Pony*, retold by Eric Kimmel. Reb Shimon is a man who delights in tormenting beggars by inviting them to his home for dinner and then asking them so many questions that they cannot eat. Reb Shimon meets his match when he invites Hershel to share a meal! Four other Hershel tales appear in Kimmel's *Hershel of Ostropol*. Kimmel combined elements of the Russian tale "Ivanko, the Bear's Son" with Hershel of Ostropol to create the wonderful Jewish tale *Hershel and the Hanukkah Goblins*, in which Hershel enables the villagers to celebrate Hanukkah by outwitting eight goblins that haunt the synagogue.

Three other trickster tales also appear in *The Spotted Pony*: "Iban Ezra and the Archbishop," "The Kabil's Donkey," and "Leviathan and the Fox." Iban Ezra, a rabbi who lives in the Middle Ages and speaks many languages, is captured by pirates and sold into slavery. He eventually becomes a servant of the Archbishop of Canterbury and uses his wisdom to trick King John, thus saving the Archbishop's life. In "The Kabil's Donkey," a tale from Yemen, the teacher Mar Saadiyah teaches the Kabil a lesson when he tries to create problems between the Jews and their Muslim neighbors. Leviathan, the ruler of the sea, tries to trick a fox into traveling on a whale's back in order to become his dinner. The wily fox uses his cunning to spare his life in this tale that explains why foxes are rarely seen at the seashore.

Latino

Coyotes, snakes, and Anansi are sample Latino tricksters. In Edmonds's retelling of "Señor Coyote and the Tricked Trickster" found in *Trickster Tales*, Mouse frees Señor Coyote from a trap and makes him promise that he will work for Mouse until the debt is repaid. When Señor Snake tricks Mouse into saving him and announces plans to eat Mouse, Señor Coyote is able to outwit the snake both to save Mouse and to be freed from his debt. *Brother Anansi and the Cattle Ranch*, by James De Sausa and Harriet Rohmer, is a Spanish-English bilingual retelling of a Nicaraguan Anansi tale in which Anansi tricks Brother Tiger out of his money and his cattle.

Juan Pobreza is the trickster in Maria Brusca and Tona Wilson's retelling of *The Blacksmith and the Devils*. Juan's trickery results in his banishment from both Heaven and Hell so he remains to haunt the earth. In *The Cook and the King*, Brusca and Wilson tell a tale from "high up in the Andes of South America," where a cook uses tricks to save her life and to help the King better rule his kingdom. "Sister Fox and Brother Coyote" is a Mexican American trickster tale found in San Souci's *Cut From the Same Cloth*. Sister Fox is very sly and outwits Brother Coyote several times to save her life. Another coyote tale is found in Tony Johnston's *The Tale of Rabbit and Coyote*.

Middle Eastern

The Middle East is an area rich in tradition, culture, and folklore. For centuries the people of Turkey have laughed at Hodja tales. The Hodja was a teacher-priest or judge who "had a talent for being very foolish as he did wise things and for being very wise as he did foolish things" (Kelsey, 1943, p. ix). Hodja tales can be found in the following collections: *Once the Hodja* by Alice Geer Kelsey, *Tales of the Hodja* by Charles Downing, and *Watermelons, Walnuts, and the Wisdom of Allah, and Other Tales of the Hoca* by Barbara Walker. More Hodja tales and other trickster tales can be found in Barbara Walker's *A Treasury of Turkish Folktales for Children* and in Jane Yolen's *Favorite Folktales Around the World*.

The Hodja has an Irani counterpart in the Mullah Nasr-ed-Din. In "Donkey, Mind Your Mother!" from Alice Geer Kelsey's *Once the Mullah*, the Mullah Nasr-ed-Din falls asleep while returning home on his faithful donkey leading a new donkey behind him. Two young mischief makers untie the new donkey, leaving a boy in the donkey's place. When the Mullah discovers the boy, the boy explains he was changed into a donkey for disobeying his mother. The next day when the Mullah returns to the market, he finds his new donkey and scolds it for disobeying its mother! Twenty-four other Mullah tales are included in the book.

"Palace in Bagdad," based on Jean Russell Larson's book of the same title, retells an old Middle Eastern tale about a Bedouin peasant named Nuri who is determined to have a palace in Bagdad. He eventually tricks the robber-owners into abandoning their palace but returns to his family's camp when he learns that life in the palace is not what he expected. Trickery is also an element of other tales in Larson's book.

Native American

Native American folklore provides many trickster tales. Different regions and tribes had different tricksters. Coyote is a popular trickster of the Great Plains whose tales were told by many tribes. Coyote appeared most often as an old man or as a coyote but could transform himself into anything else at will (Jones, 1971). He usually tricks or is tricked, but there are times when he helps others or even helps in the world's creation. Hettie Jones's *Coyote Tales* illustrates the range of roles Coyote performed. Gail Robinson and Douglas Hill retell 12 tales from different tribes in *Coyote the Trickster*. Tales representative of the Yakima, Ute, Navajo, Haida, Eskimo, and Pacific Northwest Indians are included along with tales from Plains tribes. Valerie Scho Carey has written *Quail Song*, a delightful retelling of a Pueblo tale in which a quail outwits Coyote. Janet Stevens retells a Ute tale that explains what happens when *Coyote Steals the Blanket*. Shonto Begay's retelling of the Navajo tale *Ma'ii and Cousin Horned Toad* is a wonderful account of how Horned Toad plays tricks on Coyote until Coyote promises to never again bother him. Gerald McDermott explains how crows teach the great trickster Coyote a lesson in his retelling of *Coyote*. Gretchen Will Mayo assembled two recent collections of Coyote tales, *Meet Tricky Coyote!* and *That Tricky Coyote!*

Paul Goble has retold four tales about Iktomi, another Plains trickster, who has unusual magical powers "but is also very stupid, a liar, and a mischief-maker" (1991). Goble notes that Iktomi means spider in the Sioux and Cheyenne languages. Like many tricksters, Iktomi is often fooled or the victim of his own pranks. In *Iktomi and the Buffalo Skull*, Iktomi gets his head stuck inside a buffalo skull and can't see to find his way home. Eventually, he encounters his wife who uses a heavy stone hammer to break the skull off his head. Not only does Iktomi have a sore head, but he discovers the mice who had occupied the skull have chewed off much of his hair. Iktomi's wit rescues him when he lies to a group of bats and makes them so angry that they batter a boulder (which is on top of him) to pieces in *Iktomi and the Boulder*. In another tale, *Iktomi and the Ducks*, he succeeds in tricking some ducks only to have a coyote trick him out of the ducks. Iktomi is further humbled in *Iktomi and the Berries*.

The raven, a Northwest trickster, was also a creator. Three picture books illustrate how the raven brought light to a dark world. *Raven's Light* by Susan Shetterly explains how Raven flew through a tear in the sky to the Kingdom of the Day. There the raven tricks the people and takes the "Day" back to his world. A young girl tears a loose strand from the "Day," which forms the moon, and the "Day" becomes the sun. In Ann Dixon's *How Raven Brought Light to People*, Raven tricks a great chief who hoards the sun, the moon, and the stars in three boxes to bring light to the earth. As Raven steals the last box (containing the sun), the chief realizes that Raven is the trickster and uses magic to shrink the smoke hole shut. Raven manages to get through the shrinking smoke hole in the top of the lodge, but soot clings to his feathers and "ever since all ravens have been black."

The third tale is told in Gerald McDermott's *Raven* where Raven sets out to find the Sun. In *Raven Goes Berry Picking* by Anne Cameron, Raven tricks her friends into doing all of the work while she gains from their efforts. In the end, Raven learns her lesson but her friends still do not trust her. In a second book by Cameron, *Raven and Snipe*, Snipe eventually outwits the tricky raven.

Other Raven tales can be found in two collections, Fran Martin's *Raven-Who-Sets-Things-Right* and *Raven the Trickster* by Gail Robinson. Bluejay, Nanabush, Glooskap, Nape, and Mouse Woman are other examples of Native American tricksters.

Pacific Island

Maui is a well-known Hawaiian trickster with magical powers. In "Maui-the-Trickster," found in Vivian Thompson's *Hawaiian Legends of Tricksters and Riddlers*, Maui's older brothers will not take him fishing, so each day he transforms himself into some creature and ruins their fishing. Finally, the brothers agree to take him along, only to be tricked again. Yet, all of Maui's deeds were not bad. For instance, there was a time when days in Hawaii were so short that the people could not grow crops, catch fish, dry tapa, or even play. In Suelyn Ching Tune's *How Maui Slowed the Sun*, Maui uses his special powers to catch the sun and make it promise to travel more slowly across the sky. Additional Maui tales are found in three picture books: *Maui and the Secret of Fire* by Suelyn Ching Tune and *Maui Goes Fishing* and *And the Birds Appeared* both by Julie Stewart Williams.

According to Hawaiian folklore, Hawaii was not always considered a paradise. The earliest voyagers to Hawaii found it inhabited by evil spirits. In *Hawaiian Legends of Tricksters and Riddlers*, Vivian Thompson explains how tricksters overcame the evil spirits to make Hawaii a paradise. In "The Flying Spirits of Niihau," Ekahi and Elua use trickery to overcome and destroy the wicked bat-like creatures who kept eating fishermen to make Niihau safe for the fishermen of Kauai. Ka-ulu, the son of the King and Queen, was banished to Lanai, an island inhabited by evil spirits, for uprooting a field of breadfruit. Ka-ulu tricks the spirits over and over again to save himself and to make them work. The spirits work so hard they became known as "The Weary Spirits of Lanai," and they seek refuge on the barren island of Kahoolawe. Thompson skillfully retells 10 other tales of tricksters from primitive Hawaii and riddlers from the more recent Hawaii.

Activities

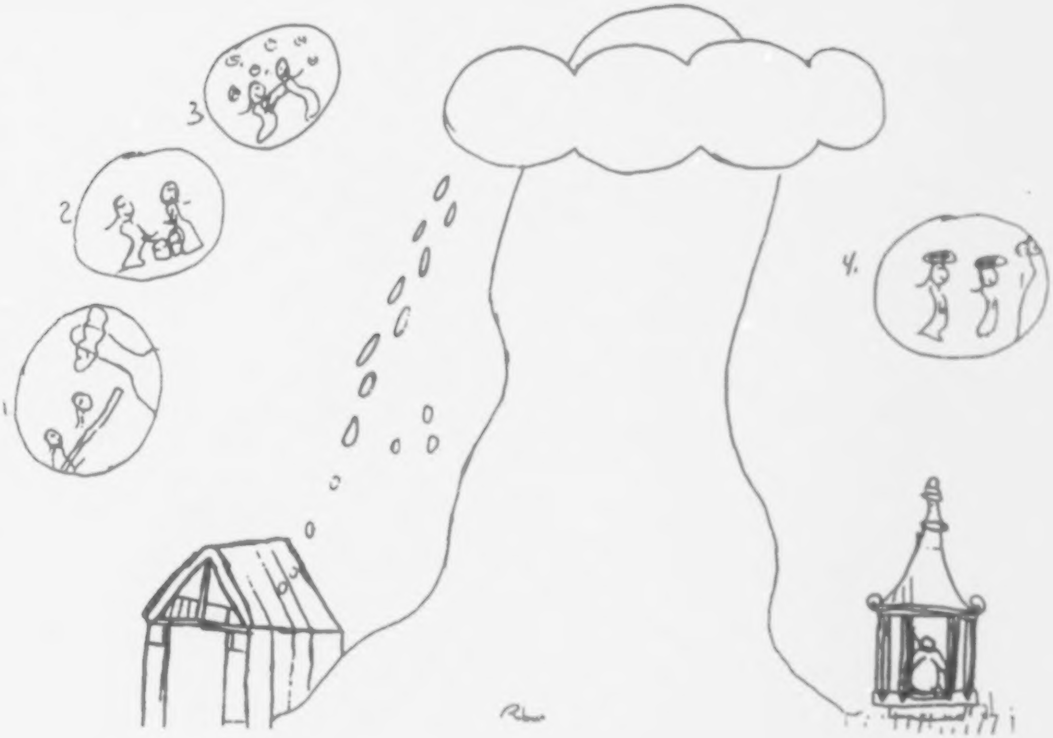
Students will enjoy hearing and reading many of these trickster tales. Extension activities that involve art, drama, movement, and games are fun. More importantly, they can facilitate understanding and promote both aesthetic and efferent response.

Readers Theatre

Readers Theatre, a presentation of fiction, nonfiction, or poetry that is expressively and emotionally read aloud by several readers, contributes to improved reading fluency, comprehension, and confidence. Many trickster tales, such as *Wiley and the Hairy Man* by Molly Bang, make wonderful Readers Theatre scripts, as seen in this brief excerpt that illustrates one of Wiley's tricks:

Wiley: Oh, that was just a plain shirt. But this rope around my pants is magic. My mother conjured it. I bet you can't make this rope disappear.

Figure 1 Story map of *Ming Lo Moves a Mountain*



Hairy Man: I can make all the rope in this county disappear.
Wiley: I bet you can't.
Narrator 1: The Hairy Man threw out his chest and opened his mouth wide as he hollered.
Hairy Man: All the rope in this county, DISAPPEAR!
Narrator 2: The rope around Wiley's pants was gone. He held his pants up with one hand. He held onto the tree with the other, and he hollered loud.
Wiley: HERE, Dogs!
Narrator 1: The dogs came running and the Hairy Man fled away.

Corporate Drama

Corporate drama differs from Readers Theatre and other drama in two ways. First, every student acts out every character's part. In addition, children neither read nor speak their lines. A teacher reads the story while the children act it out.

Arnold Lobel's *Ming Lo Moves the Mountain*, a unique Asian tale that captivates children, is perfect to use for corporate drama. A teacher can read the story aloud, stopping before the wise man gives the final solution to Ming Lo's problem. During the second reading, students act out the story. It is amazing how involved students become in the story.

Following the rereading and dramatization of the story, students can then prepare story maps, graphic representations that highlight specific story elements such as characters, setting, plot, and the relationships among these elements (Reutzel & Cooter, 1992). A sample story map can be seen in Figure 1. The corporate drama and ensuing story mapping activity develop sequence and comprehension skills.

Story Corners

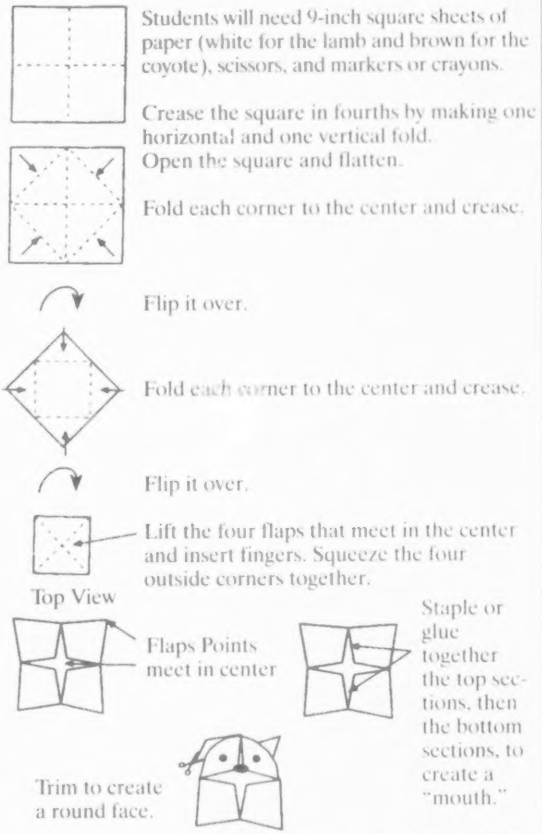
Story corners allow many students to share trickster tales. Children prepare by reading a story, constructing a storyboard and props, and practicing the story with at least one other person. A chair is placed in each corner of the room. One storyteller sits in each chair with a sign announcing the story to be told, so that other children can select one to hear. This technique is well received, provides opportunities for numerous sharings in a low-risk environment, and makes efficient use of time.

Retelling Tales With Puppets

Many students have enjoyed Verna Aardema's *Borreguita and the Coyote*. This delightful Latino tale tells of a series of clever tricks in which Borreguita, the little lamb, outwits a coyote. Students can use simple folded paper puppets to retell the tale. The directions in Figure 2 can help students create their own lamb and coyote puppets. (See Sierra [1991] for ideas about making other kinds of puppets.)

Many teachers encourage their students to prepare storyboards, a series of drawings to illustrate the story's events before retelling (Wason-Ellam, 1987). This activity increases story understanding and gives the students support when retelling it for an audience. The storyboard is also a great comprehension check. Figure 3 is a student's storyboard of *Borreguita and the Coyote*.

Figure 2 Coyote puppet plans



Students will need 9-inch square sheets of paper (white for the lamb and brown for the coyote), scissors, and markers or crayons.

Crease the square in fourths by making one horizontal and one vertical fold.
Open the square and flatten.

Fold each corner to the center and crease.

Flip it over.

Fold each corner to the center and crease.

Flip it over.

Lift the four flaps that meet in the center and insert fingers. Squeeze the four outside corners together.

Staple or glue together the top sections, then the bottom sections, to create a "mouth."

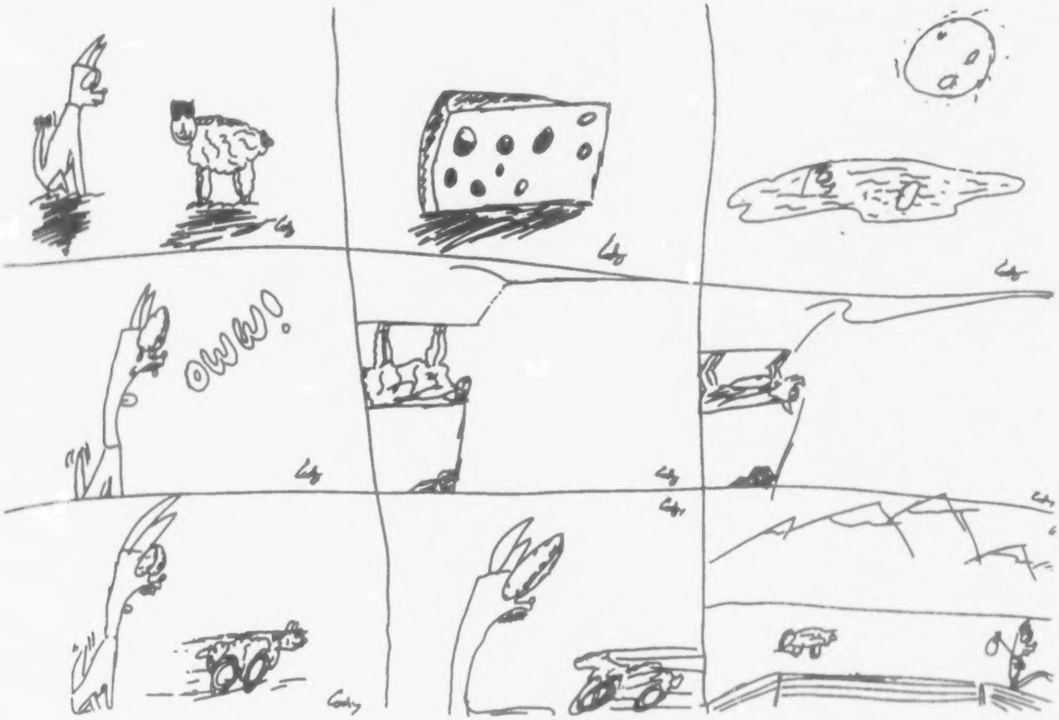
Trim to create a round face.

Decorate to create a coyote by adding pointed ears, a black nose, eyes, and teeth. For the lamb, fringe the outside of the face and fluff, add ears, nose, and eyes.

Participatory Story

Children often chime in as teachers read stories with repetitive lines. In Eric Kimmel's *Anansi and the Moss Covered Rock*, students join the teacher as they hear the repeated "Isn't this a strange moss covered rock!" After the students have heard the story one or two times, they are ready to experience a participatory story. The

Figure 3 Storyboard for *Borreguita and the Coyote*



teacher reads Anansi's parts, and the children play the variety of animal parts by reading the text or simply improvising. Excitement builds as each "animal" comes to the imaginary rock and says the fateful words, "Isn't this a strange moss covered rock!" Children thrill at being able to throw themselves on the floor and revel in waking up dizzy from the rock's spell. What fun!

Raps

Children enjoy raps. The following rap, based on Eric Kimmel's *Anansi and the Moss Covered Rock*, was written by Linda Eck, Gretchen Gleason, Connie Laws, Heather Wallace, Chris Hansen-Fitzmaurice, Karen Cheff, and Karen Schmidt, all teachers from Lewiston, Idaho.

Along came Anansi to the Jungle one day
A strange moss covered rock was in his way.
Kaboom! He fell when "How interesting!" he said
He was out for an hour and looked most dead.

When he found that what he say
Could help him with the tricks to play.
First came lion with yams
And then came elephant with his bananas.

Rhino, Giraffe, Zebra, an' Hippo
They fell victim to his tricks.
Little Deer watched with eyes anew
And knew how to change Anansi's tune.

She tricked him into saying those magic words
And rescued the food to give back to the herd.
If you think Anansi is through with his messin'—
You're wrong! He never learned his lesson!

Students can work cooperatively in small groups to write raps to share with their classmates. Moffet and Wagner (1991) suggest that students write their raps on overhead transparencies, so that classmates can follow along with the projected image. Finally, the whole class can chant the rap.

Wheel of Trickery

"Wheel of Trickery," a variant of television's *Wheel of Fortune*, is another enjoyable extension activity. Students delight in using repetitive lines or phrases and clues from the tales to make the game. Lines can be drawn on the chalkboard for clues. For example, the following lines can represent Brer Rabbit's phrase "Born and bred in the briar patch" from Virginia Hamilton's *The People Could Fly*:

____ ___ ____ __ ___ _____
_____.

Students then identify the story from which the quote or clue was drawn. Sample lines from other trickster tales:

> "Isn't this a strange moss covered rock!" *Anansi and the Moss Covered Rock*
>
> "To get wisdom, you must earn it." *Zomo the Rabbit*
>
> "The Hairy Man will get you if you don't watch out." *Wiley and the Hairy Man*
>
> "The hounds know who I am." *Flossie and the Fox*
>
> "Cheer up, mother, I have a plan." *The Boy of the Seven Year Nap*
>
> "That little rascal made a monkey of me!" *Rabbit Makes a Monkey of Lion*

Some computer versions of *Wheel of Fortune*, which permit players to change the clues and phrases, enable students to play "Wheel of Trickery" while enjoying the sound effects and graphics built into the software. (See Gametek's *Wheel of Fortune* for a sample software program.)

Comparison Charts

Students can compare elements of various tales about the same trickster to promote critical reading and thinking. In cooperative groups students can write the opening line, characters, tricks, repeated line, resolution, and ending on index cards. These cards can then be placed in a pocket chart as students retell the events of their tale. Students in the next group do the same with a different tale. Figure 4 illustrates a sample comparison chart.

The pocket chart has advantages over using a teacher-made chart. Students are actively involved in finding and discussing the elements to be included on their cards. The cards can also be used for other purposes. For instance, students can use the cards in games (e.g., Concentration, Rummy) or in writing their own versions of the tales.

Art

Many students enjoy extending their reading experience through art. Valerie Scho Carey's *Quail Song* is an example of a trickster tale that could easily be extended through collage, since Ivan Barnett's illustrations make great use of texture in collage. Students can use wallpaper samples and construction paper to create their own interpretations of the tale.

Students may choose to paint rocks as they interpret the tale. This would be most appropriate for extending *Quail Song*, since the quail painted a rock to outwit the cunning coyote. Of course,

Figure 4 Sample comparison chart

Story	Opening line	Characters	Trickery	Resolution	Ending
Anansi and the Python	Deep in the jungle, on the muddy banks of the River Niger lay an enormous snake.	Anansi, Python, Villagers, Sky God	Anansi tricks python and ties him up to a fallen tree.	Anansi ties python to a tree and floats him down the River Niger.	The Sky God gives Anansi a small box filled with wisdom.
Anansi and the Fancy Dress Party	Anansi the spiderman scratched his head and sat down to have a good think.	Anansi, Rabbit, Bear, Farmer George, King Leo	Bear and Rabbit hide Anansi's costume.	Anansi wins the prize for dressing as a baby.	The animals have their best laugh in weeks.
Brother Anansi and the Cattle Ranch	One day Brother Anansi heard that Brother Tiger won the lottery.	Brother Anansi, Brother Tiger	Anansi uses leaves to trick Brother Tiger out of his cattle.	All of the leaves turn brown so Anansi gets all of the cattle.	At the end of the story Tiger was left broke and Anansi had gotten rich.

there are many other art possibilities for extending trickster tales: comic books, dioramas, drawings, mobiles, models, murals, paintings, or sculptures.

Wanted Posters

Children enjoy making wanted posters for tricksters that can later be used to motivate others to read the book. Wanted posters usually contain an illustration, descriptive information about the suspect, charges against the suspect, amount of reward, and a contact person and telephone number should the trickster suspect be sighted. Creating wanted posters "involves reading for a purpose, as well as gathering, organizing and synthesizing information and selection of main ideas and significant details..." (Johnson & Louis, 1987, p. 84). A third grader's wanted poster can be seen in Figure 5.

"Riddle Me" Books

After students have experienced a variety of trickster tales, they can work in small groups to write a series of clues for a specific tale. Good clues are first general and then become more specific (Johnson & Louis, 1987). For instance, in the "Riddle Me" book illustrated in Figure 6, the first clue could be about any trickster. The second narrows the trickster to those found in Native American tales. The third and fourth clues (lost in a race with a turtle and scared by his reflection in water) narrow the trickster to Coyote in Gretchen Will Mayo's *That Tricky Coyote!* After students have written their clues, they may create "Riddle Me" books to share with their classmates.

To make "Riddle Me" books, students cut out the shape shown in Figure 6 and then fold it on the dotted lines. Students can have 4 or 8 clues on the sides of the outer squares. The trickster's name, "the answer," is written in the center square. The outer squares are folded over the center and the clues are read as students open the "Riddle Me" books.

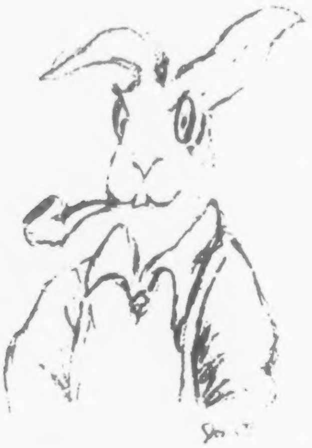
Conclusion

Teachers and students can select from a variety of inviting trickster tales. Trickster tales immerse children in delightful literary language, introduce them to other cultures, and further lexical development as words like *flummoxed* become a part of their vocabulary.

Teachers use a variety of activities to promote students' responses to the tales. The activities are pleasurable and enhance skill development at the same time. As children compare and contrast different tales, their critical thinking and reading skills are developed. The drama and art activities often interest others in reading the tales on their own. Trickster tales invite teachers to engage their students in lively interaction with

Figure 5 Sample wanted poster

WANTED



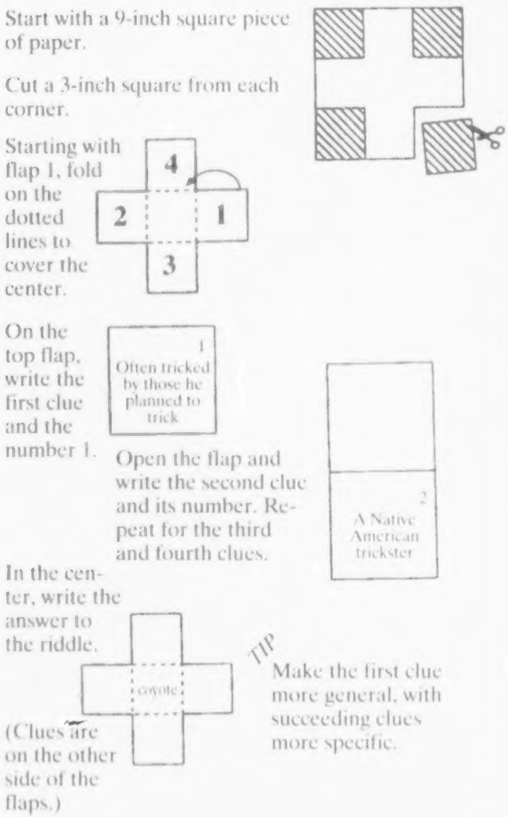
Brer Rabbit

He's a brown rabbit who wears clothes and often smokes cigars or a pipe. Brer Rabbit is clever, sassy, and dangerous.
Don't be the next victim of his tricks!

Contact Brer Bear, Brer Fox,
or Brer Wolf

$500 Reward

Figure 6 "Riddle me" books


4
2
1
3
1
Often tricked by those he planned to trick
2
A Native American trickster
coyote
TIP

Start with a 9-inch square piece of paper.

Cut a 3-inch square from each corner.

Starting with flap 1, fold on the dotted lines to cover the center.

On the top flap, write the first clue and the number 1.

Open the flap and write the second clue and its number. Repeat for the third and fourth clues.

In the center, write the answer to the riddle.

(Clues are on the other side of the flaps.)

Make the first clue more general, with succeeding clues more specific.

characters and situations that touch the lives of all children. As these opportunities are provided, more and more teachers will hear on playgrounds, "Born and bred in the briar patch!"

Author Notes

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PART SIX

An Annotated Bibliography of Multicultural Children's Literature

Lee Galda

Multicultural children's literature has finally become a force in children's book publishing in North America, and we are all the better for it. Why is this important? How can it not be! All readers—young and old, male and female, European American, Asian American, Latino, Native American, and African American, rich and poor—need books that allow them glimpses of the selves they are, visions of the selves they'd like to become, and images of others that allow them to see beyond who they are. Culturally diverse literature in the hands of all readers allows them to experience life from multiple perspectives, to consider varied points of view, to explore different ways of knowing. Perhaps the best books offer an experience that is "like looking through a window as the light slowly darkens. At first one sees clearly through the window into another's world—but gradually, as the light fades, the image of oneself becomes reflected, too" (Cullinan & Galda, 1998, p. 346).

However, we still have a long way to go. Although multicultural literature is enjoying increased attention today, the number of books from parallel cultures still lags far behind the number of children from parallel cultures living here today. Immigrant, racial, and ethnic groups have increased in number dramatically, but there has been only a slight increase in books representing those groups. Fortunately, some children's publishers have systematically increased their list of authors and illustrators from parallel cultures and small presses such as Children's Press, Lee and Low Books, Open Hand, and Arte Publico are devoted to bringing books by and about people from parallel cultures to the children's book audience.

What books are culturally diverse? It's easy to think of culturally diverse books as books about others—that is, anyone who is different from ourselves. The problem is, of course, that everyone is part of diversity. We all have a cultural heritage, often one that is woven from many diverse strands and involves our values, attitudes, customs, beliefs, and ethics; it is much more than ethnicity. Further, if we expand our notion of culture to include age, gender, special needs, and other nonethnic descriptors, culture becomes a more richly complex notion. Finally, considering cultures from outside of North America adds a global perspective that reflects contemporary life.

If we think of culture in this way, all children's books can be considered culturally diverse in relation to one another. Actually, it is most productive to think of *collections* of books as culturally diverse; a good collection should have books from many different cultural groups. The problem is that North American mainstream culture is most frequently depicted in literature for children, thus creating an unbalanced collection. The task for us, as teachers and librarians, is to create a collection that is balanced in its diversity, that celebrates the parallel cultures found in North America as well as variations within these parallel cultures and the western European American cultures, that contains an international perspective, and that includes issues of gender, status, and age as well. To do this we need to emphasize books from many cultural groups as we add to the children's books we make available to our students.

Perhaps most crucial for North American educators is to move as quickly as possible to balance our collections across the largest cultural groups in our society. Fortunately, there are a number of resources to help us do this. Harris's (1997) *Using Multiethnic Literature in the K–8 Classroom* is an updated and altered version of *Teaching Multicultural Literature in Grades K–8* (1992). This collection offers some thoughtful chapters that focus on specific ethnic groups, examine the history of publishing books by and about that group, examine exemplary and problematic books, and discuss teaching with culturally diverse literature. Sims-Bishop's (1995) *Kaleidoscope* (and the second edition edited by Barrera, Thompson, & Dressman, 1997) offers an excellent annotated bibliography of culturally diverse books, as does Miller-Lachman's (1992) *Our Family, Our Friends, Our World*. Tomlinson's (1998) edited bibliography, *Children's Books From Other Countries* provides an annotated bibliography of international scope. Other reference books, such as Helbig and Perkins's (1997) *Myths and Hero Tales: A Cross Cultural Guide to Literature for Children and Young Adults*, offer teachers and librarians the opportunity to increase the diversity of their collections regarding specific tale types or genres. Other books, such as Zarrillo's (1994)*Multicultural Literature, Multicultural Teaching* and Whang and Samway's *Literature Study Circles in a Multicultural Classroom* offer ideas and support for classroom teachers trying to teach for diversity. (See "For Further Reading" at the end of this volume for additional titles.)

Journals such as *The New Advocate*, *The Reading Teacher*, and *Language Arts* regularly review culturally diverse literature, and *The Horn Book* devotes a column to culturally diverse literature. Booklists such as the one compiled by Michael Opitz shown in this part and those in the "For Further Reading" bibliography also aid teachers and media specialists in identifying the best books to add to their collections.

There are many wonderful children's books and many resources available to help us find them. If we succeed in diversifying our collections, then *all* readers will see themselves in the pages of the books they read. *All* readers can have the opportunity for that transcendent experience of knowing that private truths are shared with a book character. *All* readers can look through the literary window, learn about others, and find themselves.

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An Annotated Bibliography of Multicultural Children's Literature Published in 1997

Compiled by Michael F. Opitz

CODE:
Title
Author
Illustrator
Publisher: Location, name, and ISBN
Number of pages/Interest level: *P = Primary grades (K–2)*
ME = Middle elementary grades (2–3)
I = Intermediate grades (4–5)
Genre/Culture, social group, or country
Annotation

Abuelita's Heart
Amy Córdova
Illustrated by the author
New York: Simon & Schuster. 0-689-80181-5.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Hispanic)

A young girl's grandmother shares some of her feelings about the southwestern U.S. desert where she lives. She also points out several plants and places within the desert that are special to her. Spanish phrases are used throughout the book with the English translation following the phrase.

The Adventures of Sparrowboy
Brian Pinkney
Illustrated by the author
New York: Simon & Schuster. 0-689-81071-7.
32 pages/ P, ME, I
Fantasy (African American)

Henry delivers newspapers and always reads the front page followed by the comics before he actually starts delivering the papers. All of the headlines are discouraging to Henry. To lift his spirits, he pretends to be Falconman, the comic hero who stops bad things from happening.

African Americans Who Were First
Joan Potter and Constance Claytor
Photographs by a variety of photographers
New York: Dutton. 0-525-65246-9.
116 pages/ I
Biography (African American)

This book provides a collection of short biographical sketches of African Americans who were first to accomplish a given task within their chosen fields. Each biography is one page and several are accompanied by photographs.

Africatrek: A Journey by Bicycle Through Africa
Dan Buettner
Photographs by the author
Minneapolis, MN: Lerner. 0-8225-2951-3.
112 pages/ I
Information (Interracial: Caucasian and African)

A veteran cyclist group takes the reader through Africa. Based on their experiences, the book is filled with photographs to further document specific highlights. A pronunciation guide and glossary are included.

Ali: Child of the Desert
Jonathan London
Ted Lewin
New York: Lothrop. 0-688-12560-3
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Realistic Fiction (Morocco)

A sandstorm causes Ali to become separated from his father while on a journey to Rissani. He survives the sandstorm and begins searching for his father. As he continues to search, Ali comes to a herdsman who provides him with food and shelter. Although the herdsman leaves, Ali decides to stay at the camp and keep the fire burning and fire a musket with the hope of being reunited with his father. In the end, Ali proves himself to be a courageous son.

America: My Land, Your Land, Our Land
W. Nikola-Lisa
Illustrated by fourteen artists
New York: Lee & Low. 1-880000-37-7.

26 pages (unpaged)/ P
Realistic Fiction (Multicultural)

This rhythmic book of opposites provides an overview of the many different characteristics of lands that form America. Each two-page spread features a pair of opposites and is illustrated by a different illustrator.

Anansi Does the Impossible: An Ashanti Tale
Verna Aardema
Lisa Desimini
New York: Atheneum. 0-689-81092-X.
29 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Folk Literature/ Legend (Africa)

The Sky God is the keeper of all Ashanti tales. Anansi and Aso, his wife, decide that the people should own the tales, and they set out to buy them from him. The Sky God is willing to sell the tales for a python, a fairy, and 47 hornets. Tasks completed, the Sky God gives them the tales, and the people celebrate and decide to call the West African tales the Anansi tales.

An Angel Just Like Me
Mary Hoffman
Cornelius Van Wright and Ying-Hwa Hu
New York: Dial. 0-8037-2265-6.
22 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (African American)

Tyler wants an angel for the Christmas tree that looks just like him—a black angel that looks like a boy. His search reveals all types of angels yet none look like him. Frustrated, Tyler decides to ask Santa. He recognizes that Santa is Carl, an art student who sometimes cares for him. He tells Santa (Carl) his problem. Tyler receives a late delivery from Santa (Carl) that turns out to be a carved angel that looks just like Tyler.

Angela Weaves a Dream: The Story of a Young Mayan Artist
Michele Solá
Jeffrey Jay Foxx
New York: Hyperion. 0-7868-0073-9.
47 pages/ I
Information (Mayas)

Angela learns to weave seven sacred designs and uses them to weave tapestry that tells the story of her ancestors. Through Angela's preparation for weaving, the details involved in weaving and the designs that are used are revealed. A glossary, bibliography, a photographer's note, and author's note are included.

The Angel's Mistake: Stories of Chelm
Francine Prose (retold by)
Mark Podwal
New York: Greenwillow. 0-688-14905-7.
22 pages/ P, ME
Folk Literature (Polish Jews)

Although there is an actual place in Poland called Chelm, this is the story of the other Chelm, the town in Yiddish folk tales that is composed of silly people who make the easiest tasks appear difficult. This story tells how this imaginary town was created.

Arctic Son
Jean Craighead George
Wendell Minor
New York: Hyperion. 0-7868-0315-0.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Realistic Fiction (Interracial: Caucasian and Eskimo)

When Luke is born, he is given a second name— an Eskimo name, Kupaaq. Luke lives among the Eskimos learning their traditional ways.

Ashley Bryan's ABC of African American Poetry
Ashley Bryan
Illustrated by the author
New York: Atheneum. 0-689-81209-4.
26 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Poetry (African American)

The works of several African American poets are presented throughout this book. Some are complete poems, others are fragments. Each verse shares an aspect of the African American experience.

The Aztec News: The Greatest Newspaper in Civilization
Philip Steele, Penny Bateman, and Norma Rosso
Walker Books, Ltd.
Cambridge, MA: Candlewick. 0-7636-0115-2.
32 pages/ I
Information (Aztec)

The history of the Aztecs is presented in a column formatted like a newspaper. It presents much historical information in a modern way. Maps and pictures depict specific events.

Baseball in the Barrios
Henry Horenstein
Photographs by the author

San Diego, CA: Gulliver/Harcourt Brace. 0-15-200499-8.
28 pages (unpaged)/ ME, I
Information (Venezuela)

This is the story of Hubaldo, a fifth grader who lives in Venezuela, and his devotion to baseball. Hubaldo tells about his family and friends and about the many ways that baseball is played in Venezuela. A baseball vocabulary list at the end of the book lists baseball terms in both English and Spanish with the Spanish pronunciation in parentheses.

Beardream
Will Hobbs
Jill Kastner
New York: Atheneum. 0-689-31973-8.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Folk Literature (Native American: Ute)

Short Tail is a young Indian boy who discovers that Great Bear has not been seen this spring. Wondering if he is still sleeping in his den, Short Tail sets off to find him. He gets tired and falls into a magical dream where a secret is revealed to him because of his respect for the bear. He is told to share this secret with the rest of the people in his village. Based on tales told by the Utes, it shows the connection between people and bears.

The Beggar's Magic: A Chinese Tale
Margaret and Raymond Chang (retold by)
David Johnson
New York: McElderry Books. 0-689-81340-6.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Folk Literature (China)

A retelling of an ancient Chinese tale, this magical tale shows how being unselfish is rewarded. With the exception of one person, the people of a village share with an old beggar who has magical powers. In the end, the old beggar plays a trick on the one villager who will not share his pears, leaving him with none.

The Birthday Swap
Loretta Lopez
Illustrated by the author
New York: Lee & Low. 1-880000-47-4.
30 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Mexican American)

Having a birthday close to a holiday has its disadvantages. Such is the case for 5-year-old Lori whose birthday falls in December. Much to her surprise, however, her sister, whose birthday is in the summer when the family always has a big reunion, decides to swap birthday celebrations with Lori. Lori is truly surprised and recognizes that her sister is a special person.

A Bosnian Family
Robin Landew Silverman
Photographs by several photographers
Minneapolis, MN: Lerner. 0-8225-3404-5
64 pages/ I
Information (Bosnia)

This is a factual account of the events that led to war in Yugoslavia. The story is told through the eyes of one family who escapes Bosnia and settles in Grand Forks, North Dakota. Maps show the journey the family had to make and photographs help to illustrate life in both places.

Bouki Dances the Kokioko: A Comical Tale From Haiti
Diane Wolkstein
Jesse Sweetwater
San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace. 0-15-200034-8.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Folk Literature (Haiti)

Bouki is fat and awkward yet he wants to learn how to dance the Kokioko for the king so that he can win the king's money. Malice, the king's gardener, sees the king dancing the Kokioko and shows his wife the steps and tells her of his plan to win the money without having to do the dance. He then teaches the dance to Bouki who wins the contest after practicing the dance for two months. However, Malice tricks Bouki into setting his sack of money on the ground while he teaches him another dance. He gets so engrossed in the dance that he doesn't notice Malice taking his money until it is too late. A glossary is included.

Buddha Stories
Demi
Illustrations by the author
New York: Holt. 0-8050-48868-3.
24 pages (unpaged)/ ME, I
Folk literature (Buddha)

Presents a collection of 10 one-page stories from Buddha. Each story ends with a moral.

Buffalo Days
Diane Hoyt-Goldsmith
Lawrence Migdale
New York: Holiday House. 0-8234-1327-6.
30 pages/ ME, I
Information (Native American: Crow)

The importance of buffalo to the Crow Indians is the focus of this book. Just how the Crow depended on the buffalo and how buffalo days are celebrated are explained. The book also describes life on a Crow Indian reservation through the eyes of Clarence, a 10-year-old, and his family.

Butterfly Boy
Virginia Kroll
Gerardo Suzán
Honesdale, PA: Boyds Mills. 1-56397-371-5.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Mexico)

Emilio and his grandfather spend much time together. One day as Emilio starts to read, his grandfather points to butterflies. From then on, the two of them watch butterflies on sunny days. Emilio learns that butterflies are attracted to bright surfaces, and he convinces his father to paint the garage white so that the butterflies will return.

By the Hanukkah Light
Sheldon Oberman
Neil Waldman
Honesdale, PA: Boyds Mills. 1-56397-658-7.
30 pages/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Jewish)

Rachel helps her grandfather polish the menorah, and the two of them call the family together so that he can tell the story of how Hanukkah began. Rachel has heard the story several times but never tires of listening to it. He then tells the story of how Hanukkah was celebrated during the war when he was a young boy.

Celebrate in Central America!
Joe Vesti and Diane Hall
Photographs by Joe Viesti
New York: Lothrop. 0-688-15161-2.
28 pages (unpaged)/ ME, I
Information (Central America)

Many holidays of Central America are described in this text. A map is included in the front of the book to which the reader can refer when reading about the various holidays in different parts of Central America.

Celebrating Families
Rosmarie Hausherr
Photographs by the author

New York: Scholastic. 0-590-48937-2.
30 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Information (Multicultural)

Several types of families are described in this collection. A child from each family is shown holding a photograph of the family and his or her signature is included in the sentence, "Meet ___________ and his family." A picture showing the family interacting with one another is shown along with a half-page narrative. Some nontraditional family structures are included in this collection.

Celebration!
Jane Resh Thomas
Raul Colón
New York: Hyperion. 0-7868-0189-1.
26 pages (unpaged)/ P
Realistic Fiction (African American)

Maggie can hardly wait for the Fourth of July celebration to begin. Relatives come to her house for a celebration, which is held in the backyard. Maggie enjoys this year's celebration as much as those in the past. Although she enjoys the food and games, being with family is what she likes best!

Celebrations: Festivals, Carnivals, and Feast Days From Around the World
Barnabas and Anabel Kindersley
Photographs contributed by several photographers
New York: DK Publishing. 0-7894-2027-9.
63 pages/ P, ME, I
Information (Multicultural)

Celebrations from around the world are presented through the eyes of children. Photographs of children in authentic dress and the artifacts used in various celebrations are shown. Short narratives accompany each picture.

Chanukah in Chelm
David A. Adler
Kevin O'Malley
New York: Lothrop. 0-688-09952-1.
26 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Folk Literature (Polish Jews)

The people of Chelm, a make-believe town famous in Jewish folklore, are senseless, making the easiest tasks very difficult. In this story, Mendel searches for a table that can be used to place the menorah in front of the window for all to see. Several puns are presented in word bubbles throughout the book.

Chidi Only Likes Blue: An African Book of Colors
Ifeoma Onyefulu
Photographs by the author
New York: Cobblehill/Dutton. 0-525-65243-4.
18 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Information (Africa)

The characteristics of Africa come to life in this book, which is told by Nneka and her younger brother, Chidi. Each color is used to tell something about Africa. Photographs of Nneka and Chidi and many of the items they mention help to introduce the Nigerian village to all children.

Chinatown
William Low
Illustrated by the author
New York: Holt. 0-8050-4214-8.
30 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Chinese American)

A description of New York's Chinatown is presented in this story, which is told by a young boy. As the boy and his grandmother walk through Chinatown, he describes what they see. The illustrations are very supportive of the text and help to bring the descriptions to life.

Colors of Mexico
Lynn Ainsworth Olawsky
Janice Lee Porter
Minneapolis, MN: Carolrhoda Books. 0-87614-886-0.
24 pages/ ME, I
Information (Mexico)

This book is one of a series called *Colors of the World.* Mexico's history, cultural events, and items are explained by relating each to a given color. The Spanish name for each color word is provided along with a pronunciation guide.

The Cricket's Cage: A Chinese Folktale
Stégan Czernecki (retold by)
Illustrated by the author
New York: Hyperion. 0-7868-0296-0.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Folk Literature (China)

A demanding, impatient emperor wants four towers built around his city and solicits designs, threatening to kill those who fail. This story tells the legend of how the cricket came to design the towers around Beijing's "Forbidden City."

Cuckoo: A Mexican Folktale
Lois Ehlert
Illustrations by the author
San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace. 0-15-200274-X.
32 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Folk Literature (Mexico)

This Mayan folk tale tells how the cuckoo lost its beautiful feathers. Told in both English and Spanish, this is the story of Cuckoo, a beautiful but lazy bird who discovers that a field is on fire and works to save seeds by carrying them to the mole's tunnel. Cuckoo's feathers get scorched, and she loses her beautiful singing voice. But she gains the respect of the other animals in the forest for saving the seeds that would be used to grow food.

Dancing With Dziadziu
Susan Campbell Bartoletti
Annika Nelson
San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace. 0-15-200675-3.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Polish American)

The relationship between a young girl and her grandmother unfolds in this story. Gabriella dances for her dying grandmother. Grandmother then tells Gabriella her memories of immigrating from Poland and dancing with Dziadziu, Gabriella's grandfather.

Day of the Dead
Tony Johnston
Jeanette Winter
San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace. 0-15-222863-2.
44 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Information (Mexico)

The Day of the Dead is a holiday in Mexico that spans three days. This story describes the holiday through the eyes of one family—from preparation for the holiday to the actual event. Spanish words are used in context and are followed by the same phrase translated into English.

December
Eve Bunting
David Diaz

San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace. 0-15-201434-9.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Realistic Fiction (Homeless)

A homeless boy and his mother are celebrating Christmas Eve in a house built of cardboard when an old woman thumps on the door. The boy and his mother invite the woman into their house and share what little they have with her. Their luck changes after what appears to be a miraculous event.

Eagle Song
Joseph Bruchac
Dan Andreasen
New York: Dial. 0-8037-1918-3.
80 pages/ ME, I
Realistic Fiction (Native American: Mohawk)

Danny Bigtree and his family move from the Mohawk reservation to a new city, and Danny finds it hard to adjust. Danny's father comes to visit his classroom so that the other students can better understand Native Americans. Danny learns to take pride in who he is and that he must first feel peace within himself before he can make peace happen around him.

The Eagle's Gift
Rafe Martin
Tatsuro Kiuchi
New York: Putnam. 0-399-22923-X.
26 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Folk Literature (Eskimo)

A young Eskimo boy wants his two brothers to return from their hunting trip. He sets out to find them but instead encounters a boy (eagle). The eagle teaches him how to dance, sing, and tell stories, all of which enable him to spread joy throughout the world. Although his two brothers do not return, eagle tells the boy that he and his brothers will some day be reunited. A major point of the story is that real joy is built on friendship and community.

Echoes of the Elders: The Stories and Paintings of Chief Lelooska
Christine Normandin (Editor)
Chief Lelooska
New York: DK Publishers. 0-7894-2455-X.
38 pages/ ME, I
Folk Literature/Collection with CD (Northwest Coast Indians)

Chief Lelooska tells the tales that make up this volume, a collection of five Northwest Coast Indian tales. Each story serves as a reminder of how man and nature are related and how man must respect the environment. This collection, which includes illustrations by the Chief, is the first written record of Chief Lelooska, a master storyteller who died in 1996.

The Egyptian News: The Greatest Newspaper in Civilization
Scott Steedman and James Putnam
Walker Books, Ltd.
Cambridge, MA: Candlewick. 1-56402-873-9.
32 pages/ I
Information (Egypt)

The history of the Egyptians is presented in a format like a newspaper. It presents historical information in a modern way. Maps and pictures depict specific events.

Eight Days of Hanukkah
Harriet Ziefert
Melinda Levine
New York: Viking. 0-670-87326-8.
15 pages (unpaged)/ P
Realistic Fiction (Jewish)

This is a story of Hanukkah and why candles are lit each day. Two lines are repeated on each page providing enough repetition for novice readers to join in the reading. Pages increase in size as the story progresses, and the number of candles to be lit each day are also shown on the border.

The Fool and the Phoenix: A Tale of Old Japan
Deborah Nourse Lattimore (retold by)
Illustrated by the author
New York: HarperCollins. 0-06-026209-5.
30 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Folk Literature (Japan)

Hideo, a mute birdcatcher, is accused of being a bandit who steals from rich and poor alike and is banished from the village. However, a mysterious phoenix, a maiden few have ever seen, helps him to discover the real bandit (Nobu) and save the village. An author's note provides additional background.

Freedom's Gifts: A Juneteenth Story
Valerie Wesley
Sharon Wilson
New York: Simon & Schuster. 0-689-80269-2.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Realistic Fiction (African American)

June likes to celebrate Juneteenth, but this year she will have to entertain her cousin Lillie who is visiting from New York. Lillie doesn't know anything about Juneteenth and would rather celebrate the Fourth of July. Aunt Marshall helps Lillie to see the importance of Juneteenth, and Lillie hopes to come to Juneteenth from then on.

Fruits: A Caribbean Counting Poem
Valerie Bloom
David Axtell
New York: Holt. 0-8050-5171-6.
23 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Poetry (Jamaica)

Ten Caribbean fruits are described in a poem about each one. A glossary that lists the names and descriptions of the fruits is provided. Spelling reflects the Jamaican language.

Full Moon Stories: Thirteen Native American Legends
Eagle Walking Turtle
Illustrated by the author
New York: Hyperion. 0-7868-0225-1.
48 pages/ I
Folk Literature (Native American: Arapaho)

A legend for each full moon of the year is told by Grandpa Iron. Each legend tells some of the traditions and beliefs of the Arapaho Indians that emphasize the importance of living in harmony with nature.

Gabriella's Song
Candace Fleming
Giselle Potter
New York: Atheneum. 0-689-80973-5.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Italy)

Gabriella likes to sing and she likes to share her singing with everyone. One day a composer is trying to compose a piece of music and, getting stuck, decides to open his window. He hears Gabriella's song and it gives him the idea for his composition. The audience gives both the composer and Gabriella a standing ovation for the wonderful piece of music.

Gathering the Sun: An Alphabet in Spanish and English
Alma Flor Ada (English translation by Rosa Zubizarreta)
Simón Silva
New York: Lothrop. 0-688-13903-5.
32 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Poetry (Mexican American)

The poetry in this book describes the life and work of those who work in the fields. Each poem is presented in Spanish and English. The poems are presented in alphabetical order according to Spanish words.

The Girl Who Lived With the Bears
Barbara Diamond Goldin (retold by)
Andrew Plewes
San Diego, CA: Gulliver/Harcourt Brace. 0-15-200684-2.
34 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Folk Literature (Native American: Pacific Northwest)

In this retelling of a popular traditional tale told by the Haida, Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Ahtna people, a chief's daughter learns that she must show respect to the bear people. A storyteller's note provides additional background for this tale.

Grass Sandals: The Travels of Basho
Dawnine Spivak (reteller)
Demi
New York: Atheneum. 0-689-80776-7.
26 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Folk Literature (Japan)

Basho was a poet who lived in the 17th century. He is one of the best loved poets in Japan's history. This story is a retelling of some of his travels across Japan. Examples of his haiku are included throughout. Japanese characters with English translations are also included.

A Green Horn Blowing
David F. Birchman
Thomas B. Allen
New York: Lothrop. 0-688-12388-0.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Realistic Fiction (Interracial: Caucasian and African American)

Friendship, magic, and music are celebrated in this story, which is set during the depression. John Potts, a farmhand, teaches a boy how to play a horn using a trombolia, a type of gourd. The lessons also teach the boy about life.

The Gypsy Princess
Phoebe Gilman
Illustrated by the author
New York: Scholastic. 0-590-86543-9.
30 pages/ P, ME, I
Fantasy (Gypsy)

Cinnamon, a Gypsy girl, finally gets her wish granted—to dance with a prince and live in a great palace. However, after experiencing both, she decides that she likes the life of a Gypsy most of all and returns to her family.

Harlem
Walter Dean Myers
Christopher Myers
New York; Scholastic. 0-590-54340-7.
26 pages (unpaged)/ ME, I
Information (African American)

Told in verse, this is a story that describes Harlem, New York. It tells how people first came to it and describes the many activities that, taken together, comprise present-day Harlem.

Hiding From the Nazis
David Adler
Karen Ritz
New York: Holiday House. 0-8234-1288-1
30 pages (unpaged)/ ME, I
Biography (German Jewish)

This book is based on the true story of Lore Baer, a 4-year-old Jewish girl whose parents took her to live with a family in Holland to escape persecution by the Nazis. Lore and her parents are eventually reunited when the war ends.

The Hired Hand
Robert D. San Souci (retold by)
Jerry Pinkney
New York: Dial. 0-8037-1296-0.
32 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Folk Literature (African American)

Old Sam owns a sawmill, and his lazy son will not help out. Old Sam hires New Hand who has magical powers, which he uses to rid people of their aches and pains. Lazy Sam, Old Sam's son, hears part of the New Hand's potion and, thinking he can cure people, he tries to cure a woman but kills her instead. After apologizing for his terrible deed, the New Hand revives the woman, and Lazy Sam is transformed into a hard worker who is kind to everyone.

Hoops
Robert Burleigh
Stephen T. Johnson
San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace. 0-15-201450-0.
30 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Poetry (Interracial: African American and Caucasian)

Just how does it feel to play basketball? How many movements are made? This poem describes both the feelings and movements associated with playing basketball.

A House by the River
William Miller
Cornelius Van Wright and Ying-Hwa Hu
New York: Lee & Low. 1-880000-48-2
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (African American)

Belinda and her mother live in a house by the river. Belinda doesn't like her house because it is small, has a leaky roof, and seems unstable in storms. However, she changes her mind after her mother tells her why the house is so special and after they almost lose it in the worst storm that has ever hit their area.

The Hunterman and the Crocodile: A West African Folktale
Baba Wagué Diakité
Illustrated by the author.
New York: Scholastic. 0-590-89828-0.
30 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Folk Literature (West Africa)

Bamba, a crocodile, and his family wander far from the river. Exhausted, they ask a hunterman to return them to their home in the water. After promising that they will not eat him, the hunterman agrees to help the crocodiles and carries them to the river. However, once in the river, the crocodiles decide that they will eat him after all. The hunterman asks several animals to help him, but all of them refuse telling him how unfairly man has treated them. The rabbit helps the hunterman by tricking the crocodiles, and the hunterman carries them home for dinner. However, once home, he discovers that his wife is very ill and that crocodile tears will save her. The crocodiles cry tears of joy as the hunterman agrees to free them.

I Am Rosa Parks
Rosa Parks
Wil Clay
New York: Dial. 0-8037-1206-5.
48 pages/ P, ME
Biography (African American)

Rosa Parks tells the story of when she refused to move on the bus. Not only does she explain what she did, she explains why! This book provides children with a basic understanding of the events that led up to the bus boycott which led to desegregation in Montgomery, Alabama.

I Am the Mummy Heb-Nefert
Eve Bunting

David Christiana
San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace. 0-15-200479-3.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Realistic Fiction (Egypt)

Heb-Nefert is the mummy who tells the story of her life with her royal husband, the pharaoh's brother.

I Have a Dream
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Illustrated by fifteen artists
New York: Scholastic. 0-590-20516-1.
40 pages/ ME, I
Information (African American)

Fifteen artists illustrate different parts of Dr. King's landmark speech, "I Have a Dream." Each artist's interpretation of his or her painting is featured in the back of the book.

In My Pocket
Dorrith M. Sim
Gerald Fitzgerald
San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace. 0-15-201357-1.
22 pages (unpaged)/ ME
Autobiography (Interracial: Jewish and Scotland)

In July 1939, several Jewish children sailed from Holland to safety in Scotland through Kindertransports. This story is based on Sim's journey, which includes pictures of her passport.

January Rides the Wind: A Book of Months
Charlotte F. Otten
Todd L.W. Doney
New York: Lothrop. 0-688-12556-5.
26 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Poetry (Interracial: African American and Caucasian)

Here is a collection of 12 poems, one for each month. Each poem captures a characteristic of the month that relates to children.

Jiro's Pearl
Daniel Powers
Illustrated by the author
Cambridge, MA: Candlewick. 1-56402-631-0.
22 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Folk Literature (Japan)

Jiro lives with his grandmother and they are very poor. One day, his grandmother becomes ill, and she asks Jiro to take their last bit of rice to the village to sell in exchange for medicine that will make her well. Jiro agrees to do so but gets distracted on his way to the village. He seeks help from Yakuzaishi-san and follows his advice. He returns home to find his grandmother feeling well. Jiro's kindness is rewarded with treasures.

Jonkonnu
Amy Littlesugar
Ian Schoenherr
New York: Philomel. 0-399-22831-4.
25 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Interracial)

This story is based on a story from the sketchbook of Winslow Homer. It tells of the time Homer went to a small town to paint and the problems that some townspeople had with Homer painting pictures of the slaves. The book also tells the story of Jonkonnu, a day when slaves pretended that they were free.

Jump the World: Stories, Poems, & Things To Make & Do From Around the World
Sarah Pooley
Illustrations by the author
New York: Dutton. 0-525-45798-4.
76 pages/ ME, I
Collection (Multicultural)

This book is a collection of stories, poems, and different crafts and activities that children do around the world. Stories are followed by related craft and cooking activities. Related poems are also presented.

***K* Is for Kwanzaa: A Kwanzaa Alphabet Book**
Juwnada G. Ford
Ken Wilson-Max
New York: Scholastic. 0-590-92200-9.
30 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Information (African American)

This book opens with a one-page historical overview of Kwanzaa. Each letter of the alphabet represents an object that is associated with Kwanzaa. A brief explanation of every object is also provided.

The Khan's Daughter: A Mongolian Folktale
Laurence Yep
Jean and Mou-Sien Tseng

New York: Scholastic. 0-590-48389-7.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Folk Literature (Mongolia)

Möngke is a poor shepherd who wants to marry the Khan's daughter. The Khan agrees to this if Möngke can pass three tests: fetch the treasures of the seven demons, drive enemies away from the land, and conquer Bagatur the Clever and Mighty. He does all three and marries the Khan's daughter.

Leon and Bob
Simon James
Illustrated by the author
Cambridge, MA: Candlewick. 1-56402-991-3.
24 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Interracial: African American and Caucasian)

Leon is a young boy who moves into a new neighborhood where there are no children. He creates Bob, an imaginary friend. When a boy moves in next door, Leon decides to meet him. Bob goes with him but disappears once they approach the new boy's house. Leon invites the new boy to play and on the way to the park learns that the new boy's name is Bob.

Let's Eat!
Ana Zamorano
Julie Vivas
New York: Scholastic. 0-590-13444-2.
30 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Spain)

Antonio's mama is a great cook, and she makes a different meal every night. However, when she calls the family for dinner, at least one person cannot come to the table because they are engrossed in another activity. On Saturday, however, Mama can't come to the table because she is having a baby. Finally, one week later—on Sunday—the entire family comes to the table to enjoy the feast. A glossary of Spanish terms is included.

A Liberian Family
Stephen Chicoine
Photographs by several photographers
Minneapolis, MN: Lerner. 0-8225-3411-8.
64 pages/ I
Information (Liberian American)

This informational book provides an account of the events that led to civil war in Liberia. It also provides details of one family's emigration to the United States and a description of their lives in Houston, Texas. Photographs are used to capture several highlights throughout the book.

Light the Candle! Bang the Drum!
Ann Morris
Peter Linenthal
New York: Dutton. 0-525-45639-2.
32 pages (unpaged)/ P
Nonfiction (Multicultural)

Morris presents 24 different holidays from around the world. Colorful pictures add to the descriptions of each. Notes for each day are included in the back of the book.

Little Oh
Laura Krauss Melmed
Jim LaMarche
New York: Lothrop. 0-688-14208-7.
30 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Fantasy (Japan)

A little boy asks his mother to tell him the story of Little Oh. Little Oh is an origami girl who becomes separated from her mother, the woman who has created her using origami. The story tells of how the two become separated, Little Oh's adventures, and how she is transformed into a real little girl.

A Little Salmon for Witness: A Story From Trinidad
Vashanti Rahaman
Sandra Speidel
New York: Lodestar. 0-525-67521-3.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Caribbean)

Rajiv discovers his grandmother is unhappy because she has nothing special—a witness—to serve for Good Friday. What she really wants for witness is salmon. Rajiv decides that this will be his birthday present to her. He ends up at his teacher's house and works in return for some salmon, which he presents to his grandmother with much happiness.

Ma Dear's Aprons
Patricia C. McKissack
Floyd Cooper
New York: Atheneum. 0-689-81051-2.
26 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (African American)

Ma Dear has an apron for every day of the week. These aprons help David Earl to know the day of the week and the major chore to be accomplished. Inspired by a muslin apron the author received, which was worn by her great-grandmother, this story tells about a close relationship between mother and son.

Madelia
Jan Spivey Gilchrist
Illustrated by the author.
New York: Dial. 0-8037-2052-1.
30 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (African American)

Madelia loves to paint so much that she would rather paint than go to church and listen to her father's sermons. She reluctantly goes to church and participates in the new sermon in which her father uses her name.

Mama Provi and the Pot of Rice
Sylvia Rosa-Casanova
Robert Roth
New York: Atheneum. 0-689-31932-0.
30 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Multicultural)

Lucy and her Italian grandmother live in the same apartment building but on different floors. Lucy stays with her grandmother twice a month and the two of them play games and listen to records. One day, however, Lucy gets the chicken pox and cannot visit her grandmother. To cheer up Lucy, grandmother makes her a pot of chicken with rice and sets out to climb the seven flights of stairs to bring it to her. She stops on each floor and, at their request, gives some of her rice to neighbors in exchange for food they have prepared. By the time she knocks on Lucy's door, she has a bag full of foods along with some of her rice. The two of them enjoy their multicultural feast!

Marven of the Great North Woods
Kathryn Lasky
Kevin Hawkes
San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace. 0-15-200104-2.
44 pages (unpaged)/ ME, I
Realistic Fiction (Multicultural)

Ten-year-old Marven's parents send him to a logging camp in the north to escape an influenza epidemic in Minnesota in 1918. The story of his life at the logging camp unfolds, which includes Marven's friendship with a French Canadian lumberjack. Marven learns the ways of the camp and helps by being the bookkeeper. Although he learns to enjoy his stay, he is happier when reunited with his family and discovers that they survived the flu epidemic.

Maya's Children: The Story of La Llorona
Rudolfo Anaya (retold by)
Maria Baca
New York: Hyperion. 0-7868-0152-2.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Folk Literature (Mexico)

Maya is a girl who is born with the mark of the Sun God. The village priest tells her parents that this means she is immortal. This news makes Señor Tiempo very angry because, as the god of time, he is the one who determines how long a person would remain on earth. Recognizing that he cannot have her children, he tricks Maya into giving him her children. Maya becomes known as La Llorona, the legendary creature who cries for her lost children along the banks of rivers and lakes.

Mayeros: A Yucatec Maya Family
George Ancona
Photographs by the author
New York: Lothrop. 0-688-13465-3
36 pages (unpaged)/ ME, I
Biography (Mexico)

Ancona presents a photodocumentary of Armando and Gaspar and their Mayan family who live in Teabo, a small village on the Yucatan Peninsula of Mexico. Both life and customs are presented.

The Mean Hyena: A Folktale From Malawi
Judy Sierra (retold by)
Michael Bryant
New York: Lodestar/Dutton. 0-525-67510-8.
Folk Literature (Africa)

The mean hyena plays a trick on Kamba, the tortoise, by sticking him in between two branches in a tree. However, Kamba comes up with a plan that will give him the last laugh. He paints each animal's coat with different colors giving the zebra stripes and the leopard spots. When the hyena comes for his coat, the tortoise first has the hyena get him down from the tree. He then uses tree gum to paint spots on the hyena. The gum makes the hyena itch, and he rolls around in the dirt making dirt and burrs stick to his fur and, rather than admire his new coat, others laugh at him. His lesson? Play a trick on others only if you want a trick played on you!

Mist Over the Mountains: Appalachia and Its People
Raymond Bial
Photographs by the author
Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin. 0-395-73569-6.

48 pages/ ME, I
Information (Appalachia)

Information about Appalachia and its people is presented accompanied by photographs.

Miz Berlin Walks
Jane Yolen
Floyd Cooper
New York: Philomel. 0-399-22938-8.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Interracial; Caucasian and African American)

Miz Berlin is an old lady who takes walks around Mary Louise's block. One day, Mary decides to join Miz Berlin and listens to her stories. She comes to know the woman through her stories and visits her when she becomes ill. When Miz Berlin dies, her spirit lives on in the stories she shared with Mary Louise.

Moon Festival
Ching Yeung Russell
Christopher Zhong-Yuan Zhang
Honesdale, PA: Boyds Mills. 1-56397-596-3.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Information (China)

Moon festival is a day in China when families gather for a reunion meal. This story tells how one town prepares for the festival and what happens when the day actually arrives. This includes eating the special meal, setting up the worship table in front of the house, and singing and parading with lanterns.

Musicians of the Sun
Gerald McDermott (retold by)
Illustrations by the author
New York: Simon & Schuster. 0-689-80706-6.
34 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Folk Literature (Aztec)

In this myth, the Sun is holding four musicians hostage causing the world to feel sad. The Lord of the Night decides to use Wind to free the musicians bringing joy back to earth. Turtle Woman, Fish Woman, and Alligator Woman help by carrying Wind across the sea. Wind then uses black clouds to cover the sun and bring the musicians back to the earth.

My Horse of the North
Bruce McMillan
Photographs by the author

New York; Scholastic. 0-590-97205-7.
32 pages/ P, ME, I
Information (Iceland)

Margrét is a young girl who lives in Iceland. This is the story of how she prepares her horse for the réttir, the annual gathering of the sheep. Through Margrét, the author offers detailed information about living in a farming community in Iceland.

My Palace of Leaves in Sarajevo
Marybeth Lorbiecki
Herbert Tauss
New York: Dial. 0-8037-2033-5.
53 pages/ I
Realistic Fiction (Yugoslavia)

Nadja is a 10-year-old who lives in Sarajevo. In 1991, she begins writing letters to her cousin who lives in Minnesota. The two begin exchanging letters, and through these letters the reader sees the devastating effects of war and how letters from her cousin give Nadja hope during these difficult times. This story is based on written accounts as well as stories that have been told to the author.

Nabuela
Fiona Moodie (retold by)
Illustrated by the author
New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux. 0-374-35486-3.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Folk Literature (South Africa)

Nabulela is a white-skinned monster that lives in a lake nearby a Nandi village. The people are afraid of him because he eats people. One day, three girls in the village play a cruel trick on the chief's daughter, Nandi. For their punishment, the chief orders them to bring him the skin of Nabulela. The girls trick the monster into chasing them to the village where the fathers and brothers kill and skin it. They then bring it to the chief who promises to treat them and his daughter equally.

Nim and the War Effort
Milly Lee
Yangsook Choi
New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 0-374-35523-1.
36 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Multicultural)

Nim's school decides to conduct a paper drive to help with the war effort. A contest is structured to encourage all children to participate and Nim decides that she wants to win the contest. The problem is another boy at school also wants to win, and Nim has to attend Chinese school after school, which cuts into her time of collecting newspapers. She solves her problem by deciding to go out of Chinatown to Nob Hill to get more papers. With the help of the police, she is successful in getting many papers delivered to the school and, although a little late, gets to her Chinese lesson accompanied by her grandfather.

Oh, No, Toto!
Katrin Hyman Tchana and Louise Tchana Pami
Collin Bootman
New York: Scholastic. 0-590-46585-6.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Cameroon)

Toto is a 2-year-old who loves to eat. When he goes to the market with his grandmother, he causes havoc as a result of trying to get to food that looks good. A glossary of Cameroonian foods mentioned in the story is included.

On Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur
Cathy Goldberg Fishman
Melanie W. Hall
New York: Atheneum. 0-689-80526-8.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Information (Jewish)

The family receives cards in the mail. The family gathers to light candles for the meal, and they say blessings over apples and honey. They then pray and take time to cast away their bad deeds and thoughts in a flowing river. All of these are signs that let the young girl telling the story know that both Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur are important Jewish holidays. A glossary accompanies the story.

One Grain of Rice: A Mathematical Folktale
Demi
Illustrations by the author
New York: Scholastic. 0-590-93998-X.
30 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Folk Literature (India)

Rani, a clever village girl, tricks a selfish raja into giving her and the people of her village all of his rice. She decides to share the rice with all those who need it, including the raja, as long as he promises to take only what he needs teaching him what being fair really means. A mathematical chart showing how the rice doubles each day for 30 days is included.

Only a Pigeon
Jane and Christopher Kurtz
E.B. Lewis
New York: Simon & Schuster. 0-689-80077-0.
36 pages (unpaged)/ ME, I
Realistic Fiction (Ethiopia)

This is the story of an Ethiopian boy, Ondu-ahlem, and how he trains pigeons. An author's note provides some factual information about raising pigeons in Ethiopia. A glossary that shows both pronunciations and meanings of Ethiopian terms is included.

Our Journey From Tibet
Laurie Dolphin
Nancy Jo Johnson
New York: Dutton. 0-525-45577-9.
40 pages/ ME, I
Information (Tibet)

Getting an education in Tibet is difficult because it is under Chinese rule and too expensive for most families. Likewise, any learning about Tibetan culture is outlawed by the Chinese. Based on a true story, this is the account of one 9-year-old girl's escape from Tibet so that she can continue her education. The book describes her journey to India, one taken by thousands of children over the past 30 years. Photographs help to illustrate key points throughout the book. A letter from His Holiness the Dali Lama and an afterword, written by Rinchen K. Choegyal, the Minister-in-Charge for Education, close the book. The afterword discusses how the Dali Lama has set up schools for Tibetan children to keep their culture alive.

Over the Top of the World: Explorer Will Steger's Trek Across the Arctic
Will Steger and Jon Bowermaster
Gordon Wiltsie
New York: Scholastic. 0-590-84860-7.
63 pages/ I
Information (Multicultural)

This is the account of Steger's journey from Russia to Canada by dog sled. With a description of the team members and dogs, the rest of the book is a diary of each day's events from March 1994 to July 1995.

The Paper Dragon
Marguerite W. Davol
Robert Sabuda
New York: Atheneum. 0-689-31992-4
30 pages(foldout/unpaged)/ P, ME
Fiction (China)

An artist is chosen by the people of a village to face a dragon that poses a threat to the village. After performing three major feats put forth by the dragon, the dragon agrees to sleep once again. Four Chinese characters are included throughout the book.

Passage to Freedom: The Sugihara Story
Ken Mochizuki
Dom Lee
New York: Lee & Low. 1-880000-49-0.
30 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Biography (Interracial: Jewish and Japanese)

In this story, 5-year-old Hiroki's father, a Japanese diplomat stationed in Lithuania, helps free several Jews. Many Jewish people come to Hiroki's father for visas to escape the Nazis. Against the Japanese government's approval, Sugihara issues as many visas as he can. This story is based on what Hiroki remembers from what actually happened. The book closes with an afterword written by him that emphasizes that one person can make a difference.

Pearl's Marigolds for Grandpa
Jane Breskin Zalben
Illustrations by the author
New York: Simon & Schuster. 0-689-80448-2.
18 pages (unpaged)/ P
Realistic Fiction (Multicultural)

Pearl's grandfather dies and she feels lost without him. She cannot focus on anything in school, and she doesn't feel like playing with her friends. In the evening, Pearl cries for her grandpa wondering if he is cold and if the same moon is shining on him. Pearl's father hears her wondering aloud and comforts her. They plant marigolds in memory of him, and Pearl shares them with her grandmother when she comes for a visit. Burial and mourning customs from around the world are included.

Pedrito's Day
Luis Garay
Illustrations by the author
New York: Orchard. 0-531-09522-3.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Latin American)

Pedrito shines shoes to earn money for his bicycle. One day, however, he loses some money that is given to him. Pedrito proves his maturity by replacing the lost money with money he has saved for his bicycle.

Potlatch: A Tsimshian Celebration
Diane Hoyt-Goldsmith

Lawrence Migdale
New York: Holiday House. 0-8234-1290-3
32 pages/ ME, I
Information (Native American: Tsimshian)

The potlatch is a celebration of heritage and traditions of Norhwest Coast Indians. This book presents the history of it. The story is told by David, a 13-year-old Tsimshian Indian, who spends the summer living in Metlakatla, Alaska.

Punia and the King of Sharks: A Hawaiian Folktale
Lee Wardlaw (adapted by)
Felipe Davalos
New York: Dial. 0-8037-1682-6.
30 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Folk Literature (Hawaii)

Punia's father was a Hawaiian fisherman who was eaten by the King of Sharks. Since that time, Punia and his mother have had little fish and no lobster. One day, however, Punia tricks the King of Sharks and successfully retrieves several lobster for himself and his mother. The last time he tries to trick the shark, the shark almost eats him. However, Punia thinks quickly and lodges a stalk in the shark's mouth and tricks him into swimming into the cove where he gets stuck in the sand. The villagers help the shark return to the ocean in exchange for the shark's promise to never return. A glossary and pronunciation guide to Hawaiian terms is included.

Rama and the Demon King: An Ancient Tale From India
Jessica Souhami (retold by)
Illustrations by the author
New York: DK Publishers. 0-7894-2450-9.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Folk Literature (India)

This ancient Hindu tale tells about Rama, a brave prince who is banished to the forest by his father, the king, to repay Rama's wicked stepmother for saving his life. His wife (Sita) and his brother go with him and they begin a peaceful life in the forest until Ravana, the 10-headed king of all demons, captures Sita. Several monkeys agree to help Rama save Sita. With their help and his magic arrow, Rama kills Ravana and he and Sita are reunited.

Read for Me, Mama
Vashanti Rahaman
Lori McElrath-Eslick
Honesdale, PA: Boyds Mills. 1-56397-313-8.
26 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (African American)

Joseph loves to read and he wishes his mother did, too. One day, Joseph discovers that his mother cannot read, and he decides that he will help her learn. The story closes with Joseph's mother reading to him—a happy occasion for both.

Running Girl: The Diary of Ebonee Rose
Sharon Bell Mathis
Photographs by numerous photographers
San Diego, CA: Browndeer/Harcourt Brace. 0-15-200674-5.
60 pages/ I
Realistic Fiction (African American)

Ebonee Rose is an 11-year-old who loves to run. Her passion for running is told through the diary she keeps, in which she expresses her longing to be like other famous African American women athletes. She also presents an account of her preparation for an upcoming track meet. Poetry is blended with actual words from great female runners such as Wilma Rudolph, with several photographs of these famous runners.

Seal Surfer
Michael Foreman
Illustrations by the author
San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace. 0-15-201399-7.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (England and physically challenged)

Although Ben is on crutches, he likes to go to the ocean with his grandfather. One afternoon, he witnesses the birth of a seal and the two of them form a special bond. At one point, Ben attempts surfing with the seal and a wave washes him off of his surf board. The seal sees Ben sinking and raises him to the top and onto his board.

Seven Days of Kwanzaa
Ella Grier
John Ward
New York: Viking. 0-670-87327-6.
16 pages (unpaged)/ P
Realistic Fiction (African American)

The day, principle, and symbol for each day of Kwanzaa is provided at the top of each two-page spread in this book. The bottom of the page provides a story about Kwanzaa along with a rhyme. Pages are graduated in size. Four recipes for Kwanzaa are also included.

Sip, Slurp, Soup Soup: Galdo, Galdo Galdo
Diane Gonzales Bertrand
Alex Pardo DeLange

Houston, TX: Piñata Books. 1-55885-183-6.
26 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Mexican American)

Rhyme and repetition, both in English and Spanish, are used to tell how three children watch their Mama make soup from start to finish. Eating the soup together makes a fine ending to a day filled with anticipation of sampling the soup. The recipe is included and is written in both Spanish and English.

Smoky Mountain Rose: An Appalachian Cinderella
Alan Schroeder
Brad Sneed
New York: Dial. 0-8037-1733-4.
30 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Folk Literature (Appalachia)

This is the story of Cinderella with an Appalachian twist. Rose loses her glass slipper while attending a party given by Seb who lives on the other side of Tarbelly Creek. As with the original Cinderella tale, Seb finds Rose and the two live happily ever after.

Snapshots From the Wedding
Gary Soto
Stephanie Garcia
New York: Putnam. 0-399-22808-X.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Mexican American)

The details of a Mexican American wedding are captured by Maya, the flower girl. She uses photographs to describe the day's events. A glossary is included.

Sody Sallyratus
Teri Sloat (retold by)
Illustrations by the author
New York: Dutton. 0-525-45609-0.
30 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Folk Literature (Appalachia)

Old woman needs some sody sallyratus (baking soda) to make some soda biscuits. In turn, each family member goes to the store but gets eaten by a hungry bear on the way home. Finally, the squirrel is the last one to search for the lost family members, and the bear threatens to eat him too. The squirrel climbs a tree and leaps to another tree. The bear tries to do the same but falls on the ground, spitting out the whole family. They all go home, and the old woman makes biscuits for all to enjoy.

Starring Mirette & Bellini
Emily Arnold McCully
Illustrations by the author
New York: Putnam. 0-399-22636-2.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (France)

Bellini is a master wire-walker who teaches Mirette how to do the same. In this story, Bellini and Mirette perform their act in different places and one day receive an invitation to perform in St. Petersburg, Russia. On their journey, Mirette learns about the poor people of Russia and vows to help them become free.

A Street Called Home
Aminah Brenda Lynn Robinson
Illustrations by the author
San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace. 0-15-201465-9.
10 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME, I
Realistic Fiction (African American)

An accordion-fold book, this is the story of African American life in 1940 on Mount Vernon Avenue, the main street in Poindexter Village, a housing development in Columbus, Ohio. Each page of the book has a door that, when opened, tells of one of the occupations held by people who lived in this area.

A String of Beads
Margarette S. Reid
Ashley Wolff
New York: Dutton. 0-525-45721-6.
30 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Multicultural)

A young girl and her grandmother make beads and items from beads. All the while, grandmother tells the young girl a little more about beads—how they are made and how other people have used beads in the past. More information about beads is included in the back of the book.

Sweet Words So Brave: The Story of African American Literature
Barbara K. Curry and James Michael Brodie
Jerry Butler
Madison, WI: Zino Press. 1-55933-179-8.
64 pages/ I
Information (African American)

A grandfather tells his granddaughter the history of African American literature. He includes slave narratives with several more recent accounts, ending with Maya Angelou.

Tales of Trotter Street
Shirley Hughes
Illustrations by the author
Cambridge, MA: Candlewick. 0-7636-0090-3.
61 pages/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (England)

> This is a collection of four stories, each featuring a different family who lives in a neighborhood in England. Common terms used in England and their definitions are included.

3 Kids Dreamin'
Linda England
Dena Schutzer
New York: McElderry. 0-689-80866-6.
30 pages (unpaged)/ ME, I
Realistic Fiction (Interracial: African American and Caucasian)

> Told in rap, this story is about three friends who form a group they name Squeezed. What they want most is for their music to be appreciated. A neighbor who plays the bass gives them permission to practice in his house, and he plays his bass with them. The group performs for friends of the bass player.

Trouble
Jane Kurtz
Durga Bernhard
San Diego, CA: Gulliver/Harcourt Brace. 0-15-200219-7.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Folk Literature (Eritrea)

> Tekleh is a curious young boy who thrives on adventure. Recognizing that many of his adventures lead to getting in trouble, Tekleh's father gives him a gebeta board. This game board is supposed to keep him out of trouble. However, Tekleh trades it only to get another one to take home in the end. A glossary of terms is provided.

The Two Brothers: A Legend of Jerusalem
Neil Waldman (retold by)
Illustrations by the author
New York: Atheneum. 0-689-31936-3.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Folk Literature (Jewish)

> Two brothers demonstrate their love for one another by making sure that each has enough to eat. Solomon, the wise king, sees what the brothers do for one another and decides to build his walled city where the brothers live and places a magnificent temple in the center.

When Jessie Came Across the Sea
Amy Hest
P.J. Lynch
Cambridge, MA: Candlewick. 0-7636-0094-6.
34 pages (unpaged)/ ME, I
Realistic Fiction (Jewish)

Jessie is a 13-year-old girl who lives with her grandmother in eastern Europe. One day the rabbi chooses Jessie to leave her grandmother and the village and travel to America. The story tells of her journey and her life as a seamstress in America. The story ends with Jessie and her grandmother being reunited in America for Jessie's wedding.

When Zaydeh Danced on Eldridge Street
Elsa Okon Rael
Marjorie Priceman
New York: Simon & Schuster. 0-689-80451-2.
28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Jewish)

Zessie is an 8-year-old girl who must stay with her grandparents because her mother is having a baby. At first she isn't happy about having to stay with her grandparents because her grandfather is very strict. However, after going with her grandfather to the synagogue to celebrate Simchat Torah, she sees her grandfather dancing and laughing which helps her to change her mind about him. She has a good time after all and recognizes the wonder of the Torah. An author's note and a glossary are included.

Whoever You Are
Mem Fox
Leslie Staub
San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace. 0-15-200787-3.
26 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Realistic Fiction (Multicultural)

The commonalities of all children are emphasized throughout this story. Although they may look different, Fox explains that all laugh, cry, play, learn, and eat. Indeed, all are the same on the inside; all are united.

Willy's Silly Grandma
Cynthia DeFelice
Shelley Jackson
New York: Orchard. 0-531-30012-9.

28 pages (unpaged)/ P, ME
Fantasy (African American)

Willy's grandmother is superstitious. Believing none of the superstitions, Willy thinks his grandmother is silly. One night he decides to go to the big swamp even though his grandmother has warned him not to go. A boogeyman frightens him, and Willy runs home shouting for grandma all the way. From then on, he decides that maybe his grandmother isn't so silly after all.

Table of Multicultural Themes

Title/Themes	Accomplishment	Community	Courage	Cultural Event	Death	Family	Food	History	Humor	Intergenerational	Play	Pioneers	Relationships	Survival	Unity
Abuelita's Heart										✔					✔
The Adventures of Sparrowboy		✔	✔												
African Americans Who Were First	✔							✔							
Africatrek	✔														
Ali: Child of the Desert			✔			✔							✔	✔	
America: My Land, Your Land, Our Land															✔
Anansi Does the Impossible	✔	✔													
An Angel Just Like Me						✔							✔		✔
Angela Weaves a Dream	✔			✔											
The Angel's Mistake: Stories of Chelm									✔						
Arctic Son						✔							✔		
Ashley Bryan's ABC of African American Poetry	✔							✔							
The Aztec News								✔							
Baseball in the Barrios		✔		✔									✔		
Beardream		✔													✔
The Beggar's Magic: A Chinese Tale	✔														
The Birthday Swap						✔							✔		
A Bosnian Family	✔		✔			✔								✔	
Bouki Dances the Kokioko										✔					
Buddha Stories															✔
Buffalo Days				✔				✔							
Butterfly Boy		✔								✔			✔		
By the Hanukkah Light				✔						✔					
Celebrate in Central America				✔											
Celebrating Families						✔							✔		

Table (continued)

Title/Themes	Accomplishment	Community	Courage	Cultural Event	Death	Family	Food	History	Humor	Intergenerational	Play	Pioneers	Relationships	Survival	Unity
Celebration				✔		✔							✔		
Celebrations		✔		✔											✔
Chanukah in Chelm	✔								✔						
Chidi Only Likes Blue		✔													
Chinatown		✔								✔			✔		
Colors of Mexico				✔				✔							
The Cricket's Cage: A Chinese Folktale	✔		✔												
Cuckoo: A Mexican Folktale	✔		✔										✔		✔
Dancing With Dziadziu					✔					✔			✔		
Day of the Dead				✔		✔									
December													✔		✔
Eagle Song			✔			✔							✔		
The Eagle's Gift		✔											✔		
The Egyptian News								✔							
Echoes of the Elders										✔			✔		✔
Eight days of Hanukkah				✔											
The Fool and the Phoenix		✔	✔										✔		
Freedom's Gifts: A Juneteenth Story				✔				✔							
Fruits: A Caribbean Counting Poem							✔						✔		
Full Moon Stories										✔			✔		✔
Gabriella's Song	✔	✔											✔		
Gathering the Sun: An Alphabet in Spanish and English		✔											✔		
The Girl Who Lived With the Bears													✔		✔
Grass Sandals: The Travels of Basho								✔					✔		
A Green Horn Blowing	✔												✔		

Table (continued)

Title/Themes	Accomplishment	Community	Courage	Cultural Event	Death	Family	Food	History	Humor	Intergenerational	Play	Pioneers	Relationships	Survival	Unity
The Gypsy Princess						✔							✔		
Harlem		✔						✔							
Hiding From the Nazis			✔										✔	✔	
The Hired Hand													✔		
Hoops											✔		✔		
A House By the River						✔							✔	✔	
The Hunterman and the Crocodile	✔		✔										✔		
I Am Rosa Parks			✔					✔							
I Am the Mummy Heb-Nefert								✔							
I Have a Dream			✔					✔							
In My Pocket			✔											✔	
January Rides the Wind: A Book of Months													✔		
Jiro's Pearl										✔			✔		
Jonkonnu				✔									✔		
Jump the World							✔								✔
K Is for Kwanzaa				✔				✔							
The Khan's Daughter			✔										✔	✔	
Leon and Bob			✔										✔		
Let's Eat						✔	✔								
A Liberian Family			✔			✔								✔	
Light the Candle! Bang the Drum!				✔											✔
Little Oh						✔							✔	✔	
A Little Salmon for Witness	✔									✔			✔		
Ma Dear's Apron						✔							✔		
Madelia						✔							✔		

Table (continued)

Title/Themes	Accomplishment	Community	Courage	Cultural Event	Death	Family	Food	History	Humor	Intergenerational	Play	Pioneers	Relationships	Survival	Unity
Mama Provi and the Pot of Rice		✓								✓			✓		
Marven of the Great North Woods			✓			✓							✓		
Maya's Children: The Story of La Llorona													✓		
Mayeros: A Yucatec Maya Family		✓				✓							✓		
The Mean Hyena	✓												✓		
Mist Over the Mountains: Appalachia and Its People		✓													
Miz Berlin Walks					✓					✓			✓		
Moon Festival				✓		✓									
Musicians of the Sun	✓														
My Horse of the North	✓			✓											
My Palace of Leaves in Sarajevo			✓			✓								✓	
Nabuela		✓											✓		
Nim and the War Effort			✓			✓				✓			✓		
Oh, No, Toto!						✓	✓			✓					
On Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur				✓		✓									
One Grain of Rice	✓	✓											✓		
Only a Pigeon	✓		✓												
Our Journey from Tibet	✓		✓											✓	
Over the Top of the World	✓		✓											✓	
The Paper Dragon	✓		✓												
Passage to Freedom: The Sugihara Story	✓		✓										✓	✓	
Pearl's Marigolds for Grandpa					✓					✓			✓		
Pedrito's Day	✓		✓										✓		
Potlatch: A Tsimshian Celebration				✓		✓		✓							
Punia and the King of Sharks															

Table (continued)

Title/Themes	Accomplishment	Community	Courage	Cultural Event	Death	Family	Food	History	Humor	Intergenerational	Play	Pioneers	Relationships	Survival	Unity
Rama and the Demon King	✓		✓											✓	
Read for Me, Mama	✓					✓							✓		
Running Girl: The Diary of Ebonee Rose	✓							✓							
Seal Surfer										✓			✓		
Seven Days of Kwanzaa				✓			✓								
Sip, Slurp, Soup Soup: Galdo, Galdo, Galdo						✓	✓						✓		
Smoky Mountain Rose: An Appalachian Cinderella	✓												✓		
Snapshots From the Wedding				✓		✓							✓		
Sody Sallyratus						✓							✓		
Starring Mirette and Bellini	✓		✓										✓		
A Street Called Home		✓						✓							
A String of Beads								✓		✓			✓		
Sweet Words so Brave								✓		✓					
Tales of Trotter Street		✓				✓							✓		
Three Kids Dreamin'		✓									✓		✓		
Trouble	✓										✓				
The Two Brothers						✓							✓		
When Jessie Came Across the Sea		✓								✓					
When Zaydah Danced on Eldridge Street						✓				✓			✓		
Whoever You Are													✓		✓
Willy's Silly Grandma										✓			✓		

For Further Reading

Compiled by Michael F. Opitz

Part One
Awareness and Attitudes Toward Literacy

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Subject Index

Note: An "*f*" following a page number indicates that the reference appears in a figure; a "*t*" indicates that it appears in a table.

A

Acceptance of diversity, 53–56
Achievement tests. *See* Standardized tests
Activities, extension. *See* Reading extension activities
Additive approach, 199
Adults and cross-cultural schemata, 96–97
Advance organizer to set cultural schema, 115–121
Advanced placement (AP) classes, 106
African American literature, 222*f*–223*f*, 223, 260
African American students, 28, 52, 71–80, 110–112; Black history month, 168–172; males, 62; parents of, 58; teacher's experience with, 9–10, 14–17, 19
African trickster tales, 260
Alingual students, 29
American Council on Education, 28
American Indians. *See* Native Americans
Analyticity, 40
Annotated bibliography of multicultural literature, 275–316
Art, 242–244, 269–271
Asian Americans: children's literature, 204–212, 261; culture of, 46; teacher's experience with, 18
Assessment, 29, 47, 68, 99
At-risk learners: African American, 71–80; culture of, 27–38
Attention, sustained and systematic, 40–41
Ausubel, D.P., 116–117
Authentic discourse, 35, 64–70, 161–167, 189
Authentic literacy assessment, 68
Authentic texts, 66–67
Authority, 106–107, 110, 113
Awareness and attitudes: cultural awareness, 59, 187, 276; toward literacy, 4–7
Aztec folklore and literature, 224*f*

B

Background knowledge, 76, 122–126, 147
Baldwin, J., 11–12, 17
Banks, J., 199–202, 238–239
Barnitz, J.G., 139–140
Basic skills, 74
Bay Area Writing Project Teacher
  Research Program, 107
Beck, I., 55–56
Bernstein, B., 22
Bibliographies: annotated bibliography of multicultural literature, 275–316; Asian American literature, 207; multicultural groups, 189–194
Bidialectalism, 144
Big books, brown-bag, 158–160, 159*f*
Bilingual and ESL readers, 39–45, 87–89, 97; authentic discourse, 67, 161–167; figurative language, 136–138; literacy scaffolds, 150–157; nonnative English speakers, 81–86
Biographies, 199, 219*f*, 220*f*, 222
Biological determinism, 29
Black history month, 168–172
Black Literature. *See* African American literature
Black students. *See* African American students
Blessing books, 181
Book talks, 182
British idiom, 143
Brown-bag big books, 158–160
Buck, C., 93, 139–140
Bureau of Indian Affairs, 87

C

Canadian Indians, 42, 47. *See also* Native Americans
Caribbean trickster tales, 261–262
Caring, 55–56
Central concepts, 123–124
Chall, J., 72–73
Character mapping, 170
Characterization, 206–207, 229–240, 237*f*–238*f*
Child-rearing practices, 66–67
Children's literature. *See* Literature
Chinese: Americans, 42–43; Canadians, 47; Taiwan, 43
Chinese American students, 112–113
Cinderella tales, 127, 183, 245–257, 247*t*
Circle graphic, 255*f*
Classroom diversity, 53–56
Clay, M.M., 148
Clymer, T., 124, 125
Cochran-Smith, M., 42–43
Cognitive clarity, 42, 44
Cognitive development, 40
Collins, M., 60
Comparison charts, 269
Comprehension, 24, 91–145; African American students, 75–76; monitoring, 85
Conceptual frameworks, 51, 82–85
Cone, Joan, 106–114
Contemporary poetry, biography, and fiction, 220*f*, 222
Context, 22, 137
Contextual voicing, 107–109, 108*f*, 109*f*
Contributions approach, 199
Conversation. *See* Discourse
Corporate drama, 266–267
Council on Interracial Books for Children, 205, 207
Covert, R., 58–59
Cross-age interaction, 68
Cross-cultural literature, 66–67
Cultural awareness, 59, 187, 276
Cultural determinism, 29–34
Cultural group, 186
Curriculum and multicultural literature, 213–228

D

Dahl, R., 143
Davidson, A.L., 55
Decision-making and social action approach, 200, 239

Deficit theory, 21–38, 47, 51
Delpit, L., 9–11, 13, 19, 57, 59, 72–73
Dialects, 139–145
Dialogic instruction, 11
Dialogue journals, 66, 83, 162–163
Directed Reading Activity (DRA) , 102
Directed reading-thinking activity (DRTA), 98–99, 153–154
Disadvantaged students. *See specific minority* groups
Discourse: authentic (*See* Authentic discourse); diversity, 64–70
Discussion, 119; group, 123, 182; student-led, 105–114
Donato, R., 54
Downing, J., 42–43
Durkheim, E., 5
Dyson, A.H., 11, 13

E

Early literacy programs, 74–75
Educable mentally retarded (EMR), 29
Eisler, R., 55
El Cerrito High School (California), 106–114
Emotionally disturbed, seriously, 28
Empowerment, 202–203
EMR. *See* Educable mentally retarded
English: limited English proficient (LEP), 81–85; nonnative speakers, 81–86; nonstandard, 21–26, 77; second language, as (*See* Bilingual and ESL readers)
Essays: photo, 174–179, 176*f*; visual and verbal, 178*f*
Ethnic book characters, non–Anglo-Saxon, 237*f*–238*f*
Ethnic identity, 55, 158–160, 194–195. *See also* Personal perspectives
European and European American trickster tales, 262
Evaluation, literary, 253
Expected responses, 141
Experience-text-relationship (ETR) , 67, 93, 99, 102–104, 125
Extension activities. *See* Reading extension activities

F

Fairy tales. *See* Folk tales and fairy tales
Feedback from teachers, 61
Ferdman, B., 17
Fiction: contemporary, 220*f*; historic, 219*f*, 221–222, 224*f*
Field dependence-independence, 40
Fillmore, L.W., 40–42
Fine, M., 28, 31
Folk tales and fairy tales, 84, 93, 127–129, 129*f*, 155, 194; Aztec and Mayan, 224*f*; Cinderella tales, 127, 245–257; Hispanic, 224*f*; Native American Literature, 217–228; trickster tales, 182, 217, 258–274

G

Games produced by students, 269
Goodman, K., 8, 93, 139–140
Graphic organizers, 249. *See also specific names of graphic organizers*
Grouping students, 84–85
Guide-o-rama, 131, 131*f*
Gunderson, L., 46–47

H

Halliday, M.A.K., 22
Harris, I., 78
Hasan, R., 22
Hate crimes, 199
Heath, S.B., 42, 46–47
Henze, R., 54
High-level thinking skills, 51
Hispanic literature, 223, 224*f*–225*f*
Hispanic students, 52, 55

HISTORIC BIOGRAPHIES, 219*f*
HISTORIC FICTION, 219*f*, 221–222, 224*f*
HISTORIC NONFICTION, 219*f*, 221, 224*f*
HOLISTIC PRACTICES. *See* Whole language
HOLLINS, E., 60
HOME-SCHOOL RELATIONS OF AT-RISK CHILDREN. *See* Parents

I

IDENTITY. *See* Ethnic identity
IDIOM INSTRUCTION, 136–138
ILLUSTRATIONS, 206
IMMIGRANTS, 29, 31, 33, 201
INCOMPETENCY: alingual students, 29; verbal, 21–25
INDIANS. *See* Canadian Indians; Native Americans
INDO-CANADIANS, 47
INNER-CITY SCHOOLS, 33–36
INPUT STRATEGIES, 174
INTEGRATING LANGUAGE ARTS, 72, 161–167, 173–179
INTEGRATIVE STRATEGIES, 174
INTELLIGENCE TESTING, 29
INTERACTION, CROSS-AGE, 68
INTERACTIONAL VOICING, 108, 108*f*, 109*f*
INTERNATIONAL READING ASSOCIATION (IRA) , 6, 52, 185
IRANIAN CANADIANS, 47

J

JAPANESE AMERICAN INTERNMENT, 201
JEWISH CULTURE, 187
JEWISH TRICKSTER TALES, 262–263
JOHNS, J.L., 44
JORDAN, J., 13
JOURNALS: dialogue, 66, 83, 162–163; reading response, 253

K

KITAGAWA, M.M., 13
KOCH, KENNETH, 153

L

LABELING STUDENTS, 28, 30
LANGUAGE COMPETENCE, 83
LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE APPROACH (LEA), 67, 83, 98, 102
LATINO STUDENTS, 28
LATINO TRICKSTER TALES, 263
LEGENDS. *See* Folk tales and fairy tales
LEP (LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENT). *See* English
LESSONS, SAMPLE MULTICULTURAL, 118–120
LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENT (LEP). *See* English
LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE, 21–25
LISTENING SKILLS, 112–113
LITERACY SCAFFOLDS, 150–157
LITERARY EVALUATION, 253
LITERATURE: African American, 223; annotated bibliography of multicultural children's literature, 275–316; Asian Americans, 204–212; cross-cultural, 66–67; curriculum incorporating multicultural literature, 213–228; Hispanic, 223; model for studying multicultural literature, 214–216, 216*f*; Native Americans, 241–244; selection of multicultural literature, 180–274
LONGFELLOW, H.W., 91
LOS ANGELES COUNTY CASE STUDIES PROJECT, 33–36
LUCAS, T., 54

M

MACGINITIE, WALTER, 73
MAPPING: character, 170; semantic, 123, 125, 173; story, 124, 127–128, 128*f*, 154–155, 155*f*, 266*f*, 267
MARTINE, D., 78

Materials: analysis of, 61; authentic texts, 66–67; familiar, 84, 116; selection of, 180–183
Math, 242
Mayan folklore and literature, 224*f*
McDermott, R.P., 42
Memorization, rote, 41, 48
Memory, verbal, 40–41
Mental flexibility, 40
Mental retardation, 28–29
Middle Eastern trickster tales, 263–264
Minority groups, 189
Miscue analysis, 88
Morocco, 40–42
Motivation, 113
Multicultural perspective, 8–20, 46–49
Myths, deficit views of at-risk students, 27–38

N

National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), 6
Native Americans. *See also* Canadian Indians: literature, 54, 217–223, 241–244, 264–265; Navajo students, 54, 87–89; symbols, 244*f*; teacher as, 17–18, 54
Navajo students, 54, 87–89
NCTE (National Council of Teachers of English), 6
Negotiation, 161–162
Newbery Medal books, 229–240
Nonfiction: biographies, 219*f*; historic, 221, 224*f*
Nonnative English speakers, 81–86
Normalcy, 4–7
Nystrand, M., 11

O

Observed responses, 141
Oliver, P., 42
Ollila, L., 42
Oral cultures, 40–42
Oral miscues, 140–141
Oral traditions, 169, 217
Oral-aural skills, 41
Output strategies, 174

P

Pacific Island trickster tales, 265
Papua New Guinea, 42–43
Parents: African American students, 58; at-risk children, 31, 33, 61–62, 66–67; migrant, 33
Patterned reading and writing, 152–153
Personal perspectives, 8–20
Phonics, 82, 141
Phonological dialect differences, 139–145
Photo essays, 174–179, 176*f*
Picture books, 23, 130–135
Planning, 124–125
Playfulness, 40–41
Plot, 206–207, 255
Poetry, 153, 220*f*, 222
Poverty, effect on African American students, 71–80
Practice, 136
Predictable books, 153
Prereading activities, 84, 116, 119, 122–126, 249
Principles of instruction, 50–52
Problem solving, 51, 76, 85, 244
Pyramiding, 131, 133*f*, 134*f*

Q

Questioning techniques, 60–61, 85, 99, 119

R

Racial issues, 9, 12, 198–199, 202
Read aloud, 181
Readers theatre, 265–266
Reading Excellence Act of 1997, 5–6
Reading extension activities, 258–274

Reading responses, 182, 253
Reading-writing connection. *See* Writing-reading connection
Religious schemata, 98
Renegotiating authority, 106–107, 110, 113
Resolutions, 170
Retelling, 267
Rodriguez, R., 17, 19
Role models, 62
Rosenblatt, L.M., 162
Rote memorization, 41, 48

S

Salzman, M., 54
Samoa, 40–42
Sample lesson, multicultural, 118–120
Schemata, 95–101, 115–121
Schieffelin, B.B., 42–43
SED (Seriously emotionally disturbed), 28
Selection of multicultural literature, 180–274; annotated bibliographies, 275–316
Self-fulfilling prophecies, 24, 30, 52
Semantic mapping, 123, 125, 173
Sentence patterns, 152
Seriously emotionally disturbed, 28
Setting, 206
Social normalcy, 5
Social relationships, models of, 55
Social studies, 243
Socioeconomic level, effect of, 122–123; African American students, 71–80
South African students speaking Zulu and English, 66
Spanish-speaking students, 153
Special education, 30
SQ3R, 131–132
Standardized tests, 6, 30, 54
Story corners, 267
Story mapping, 124, 127–128, 128*f*, 154–155, 155*f*, 266*f*, 267
Story sequence charts, 252*f*
Story structure, 249
Story structure chart, 250*f*
Storyboards, 176*f*, 268*f*
Strategies: authentic discourse, 67; culturally responsive teaching, 57–63, 124–125, 181–182; group learning, 76; LEP students, for, 85; literacy scaffolds, 150–157; visual, 174; vocabulary instruction, 138; wordless picture books as instructional aids, 131–134
Student choice, 72
Student-led discussions, 105–114
Subsumption, 116
Superordinate concepts, 116
Sustained and systematic attention, 40–41

T

Table of multicultural themes, 312*t*–316*t*
Taiwan, 43
Teachers: Bay Area Writing Project Teacher Research Program, 107; experiences in multicultural classrooms, 9–18; feedback from, 61; National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), 6; Native Americans as, 17–18, 54
Textual voicing, 108, 108*f*, 109*f*
The Raccoon and Mrs. McGinnis (Clymer), 124, 125
Themes, 206. *See also* Table of multicultural themes
Theories of literacy development, 147
Trainable mentally retarded (TMR), 29
Transactional reading, 167
Transformation approach, 200–202, 239
Trickster tales, 183, 258–274
Trust building with students, 58
Tutoring of children by children, 68

U

U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights, 28

V

Vareene, H., 42
Venn diagrams, 128, 128*f*, 251*f*
Verbal essays, 178*f*
Verbal incompetence, 21–25
Verbal memory, 40–41
Visual essays, 175–177, 178*f*
Vocabulary development, 99, 249
Voicing, 107–110
Vygotsky, L., 30

W

Ways With Words (Heath), 47
Wells, G., 24
Wheatley, M., 55
Whole language, 32, 83, 151, 174; critics of, 72–73
Wishes, Lies and Dreams (Koch), 153
Woolf, Virginia, 107–108, 111
Word recognition, 82–83
Wordless picture books, 23, 130–135
Writing, 242–243; rap songs, 268–269
Writing instruction, 11–19. *See also* Essays; composition, 176*f*
Writing-reading connection, 72, 146–179
Written conversation, 66

Z

Zulu-English speakers, 66

Also of interest:

Kids Come in All Languages: Reading Instruction for ESL Students

Karen Spangenberg-Urbschat,
Robert Pritchard,
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Now, more than ever, educators face extraordinary challenges resulting from an increasingly diverse student population. *Literacy Instruction for Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Students* brings together articles from *The Reading Teacher*, *Journal of Reading*, and *Language Arts* to help teachers meet these challenges. The compilation offers practical teaching strategies, highlights the value of diversity and ways to capitalize on differences to benefit all learners in the classroom, and shows how to use multicultural literature to enhance reading instruction. The articles are grouped into the following parts:

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Literacy Instruction for Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Students will encourage both teachers and students to value the differences that each cultural group brings to the classroom and view these differences as springboards to learning.

Michael F. Opitz is an associate professor of reading and language arts at the University of Southern Colorado, Pueblo, Colorado, USA.

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